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CLASSICAL JOURNAL

The Marines of Athens John F. Charles

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THE OLDEST RIDDLE OF THE WESTERN WORLD

Oedipus and the Sphinx



Sphinx: "What is it which, though it has one voice, becomes four-footed and two-footed and three-footed?" And Oedipus solved the riddle when he heard it, saying that the creature described by the Sphinx was man; for as an infant he is four-footed, creeping on hand and foot; in the prime of life he is two-footed; and in old age he uses a cane as a third foot. Thereupon the Sphinx cast herself over the cliff, and Oedipus married the queen of the country. (Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* III, v, 3 and 6.) The drawing is from the interior of a cylix illustrated by Hartwig in *Meisterschale*, Plate 73.

**A MAGAZINE INTERPRETING TO THE THOUGHTFUL TEACHER AND THE PUBLIC THE
SIGNIFICANCE OF ANCIENT CLASSICAL CIVILIZATION IN ITS RELATION
TO MODERN LIFE**

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CURRENT EVENTS

CLEVELAND

ON DECEMBER 4, on the occasion of the seventieth birthday and the prospective retirement of a beloved leader who has contributed greatly to the cultural life of his community, language teachers in Cleveland, Ohio, are organizing a testimonial dinner in honor of Dr. Émile B. de Sauzé, Director of Foreign Languages in the Cleveland public school system.

Émile Blais de Sauzé was born in Tours, France. His first teaching experiences in America were at Temple University and the University of Pennsylvania. In 1918 he became Director of



ÉMILE B. DE SAUZÉ

Foreign Language Study with the Cleveland Board of Education and began to put into operation the principles which led ultimately to the "Cleveland Plan of Foreign Language Instruction." Applied first in French, the plan was later extended to Spanish, German, and Latin.

Visitors to language classes in Cleveland seldom fail to be impressed by the ease and delight with which even ten and eleven year-old students manipulate the foreign idiom under the de Sauzé system. Their precise pronunciation is likely to be the despair of adults who learned their

French or Spanish the hard way. While the theory of the Cleveland Plan (described in *CJ* for April, 1948, 43:433-438) involves arrangement of the learning processes in the natural order of faculties—seeing, hearing, reading, and writing—in practice depends to no small degree upon the verve, enthusiasm and fluency of the individual teacher and her ability to maintain "pace" in the classroom. It has perhaps been the extraordinary demands made by the Cleveland Plan upon the teacher herself that has militated against its wider acceptance in foreign language instruction. Under the leadership of Dr. de Sauzé, however, a corps of teachers was gradually developed who measured up to the exacting requirements of the plan; and it is the visitor's impression that the teachers' enthusiasm for the plan is equalled only by their personal loyalty to its originator and director. Those who have had the privilege of knowing Dr. de Sauzé personally can sense the source of the unique relationship that exists between leader, teacher, and student—a unique concourse of gentleness, urbanity, persistence, and strength, plus *un je ne sais quoi de français!*

To signalize his many years' work in the field of education, Dr. de Sauzé's Cleveland friends are organizing a scholarship fund to be used for a "de Sauzé Award in Language" for gifted students majoring in a foreign language at Cleveland College. Details may be obtained from Mrs. Sam Skolnik, 2822 Euclid Heights Blvd., Cleveland 8, Ohio.

OHIO

ONE HUNDRED SEVENTY-FIVE teachers and friends of the Classics attended the meetings of the Ohio Classical Conference at the Hotel Seneca and the Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Columbus, Ohio, October, 28, 29, and 30, 1948, bearing witness that the efforts of the Conference to interest and assist all teachers of Latin are bearing fruit. For a good share of the attendance was from the small high schools where very few Latin teachers have been Latin majors. Therefore the Conference gave much consideration to its scholarships, and decided to continue its award each year to a secondary teacher of a scholarship of \$250, matched by an equal amount from the School selected, to either the American School at Athens or the American Academy at Rome, and its scholarships of fifty dollars each for teachers in the county school systems to study at the Latin Teachers Institute held each summer at the College of William and Mary.

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WHAT WE DON'T KNOW

SPECIALIZED SCHOLARSHIP has given us much information about the life of the Greeks and Romans, yet there are still gaps in our general knowledge, especially concerning details that were so familiar that ancient writers rarely mentioned them.

General "background" material seldom informs us that the prosperous Greek or Roman was attended by a personal slave who did for his master all sorts of things that the average American male does for himself. But when Polemarchus saw Socrates and his companions just outside the Piraeus, he did not run after them or shout in a vulgar manner, but sent his slave to ask them to wait. When Horace strolled down-

town along the Sacred Way, his puer went along too. Menaechmus, in Plautus' play, did not even carry his own purse.

The picture above, from modern Italy, suggests another missing detail in our background knowledge. Undoubtedly a great deal of carrying was done on the head, especially by women, as is still the custom in Mediterranean countries. A surprisingly heavy load can be carried in this manner; and it develops a stately posture. (For a representation in ancient Greek art, cf. the lovely black-figured hydria showing girls at the fountain carrying water-jars on their heads, Gerhard, *Vasenbilder*, pl. IV; also Walter Miller, *Daedalus and Thespis*, Fig. 50.)

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Volume 44 Number 3
DECEMBER 1948

"The Epibatae have landed
and have the situation well in hand."

The Marines of Athens

John F. Charles

IF A MARINE be defined as a fighter on ship-board, the origin of marines is contemporary with that of warships, before the dawn of history; for the first Stone Age man who put himself and his axe in a dug-out canoe with malice prepense against his neighbor was a marine.

A narrower definition would confine the term to regularly organized foot-soldiers serving on board ships especially designed for war. Such were the soldiers who sailed on the warships of Thutmose III in his Syrian campaigns,¹ or those represented in combat with "peoples of the sea" in the murals of Rameses III at Medinet Habu.² Such also would be the hosts who sailed against Troy in the armada of Agamemnon, kindred, no doubt, of those very peoples of the sea. And we would similarly classify the Vikings in their dragon ships who terrorized the coastal and river towns of Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries of our era. But even such warriors are not what we usually mean when we speak of marines. The Homeric heroes and the Norsemen were land-fighters who used ships to get to the scene of fighting, and usually rowed, themselves, the ships they sailed.³

The marines of modern times are rather soldiers especially trained to serve on ship-board, intended to fight on or from the decks of ships, or to make up landing parties operating out of ships. They are clearly distin-

guished from the sailors who make up the crew, as any American marine or sailor will very quickly inform you. At the same time, they are not merely infantry who happen to find themselves on a ship; they are part of the total naval establishment of the nation. We would expect such specialization to develop first in a highly organized fleet and in a nation which regarded itself primarily as a sea-power. The first modern marines under this definition appeared in the British Navy in 1664, in the midst of England's naval wars with the Dutch. The American Marine Corps was formed at the very inception of the Navy in 1775.

Among the ancients the highest degree of naval specialization would be expected from the Athenians, who were the sea-power par excellence; and the sea-soldiers of Athens are the main subject of this paper, although marines in our sense of the term must have appeared as early as the naval battle between Corinth and Corcyra in 704.⁴ The regular word for marine was *epibatēs*, which the lexicographers define as one who sails in a trireme not to row but to fight.⁵

There are three ways to use a warship: as a means of locomotion to get to the fight; as a platform to fight on; and as a weapon to fight with. The first theory is represented by the Vikings and the Homeric warriors; in modern times by the troop-carrying destroyers that played so prominent a role in

the Pacific campaigns, notably the "Tokyo Express" of the Solomons' "Slot," and the host of LC's and LS's of the United States Navy.

As between the two other uses, no final decision was reached until after the Napoleonic Wars when the development of long-range guns made boarding operations a practical impossibility. Even so, as late as 1941, a boarders' battle took place in a Norwegian fjord between HM destroyer *Cossack* and the German prison ship *Altmark*.⁶ On the whole, the more skillful sea-faring peoples have tended to use the ship as a weapon, the less skillful as a platform. This was certainly true in antiquity. Fleet maneuvering reached its highest development among the fifth-century Athenians; whereas the landlubberly Romans in their one real naval contest relied on the *corvus* (a combination grapping-iron and drawbridge) and the legionary soldier.

Development of Marine Tactics

Obviously the number of marines required and their employment depends largely on the philosophy of naval tactics of the belligerents. In his description of the battle between Corinth and Corcyra at Sybota in 433, Thucydides tells how both sides crowded their decks with hoplites, bowmen and javelin men. He adds rather patronizingly that "they were organized in the old manner, rather unskillfully . . . it was more like a land than a sea battle."⁷ Again before the battle in the Great Harbor of Syracuse in 413, the Athenians, realizing that fighting in so narrow a space would give little opportunity for maneuver, embarked large numbers of infantry.⁸

Though ancient authors are not lavish with data on the number of marines at various times, it does appear that it was greater before the rise of Athenian sea-power and the perfection of fleet maneuvering than it was later. At the battle of Lade in 494, between the Persians and the revolting Ionians, we read that the Chian ships each carried 40 chosen infantry as marines.⁹ Fourteen years later at Salamis, however, the new and modernized Athenian squadron carried only 18

per ship, 14 hoplites and four archers.¹⁰ The Persian ships still had 30.¹¹

In the Athenian fleet of the fifth and fourth centuries, 10 seems to have been the standard number, as we see from an inscription,¹² and from several passages where we can divide the number of infantry in a landing by the number of ships involved.¹³ On the expedition to Sicily in 415, however, for 60 fighting ships, we have 700 marines,¹⁴ which would mean 11 or 12 per ship.

Of course a warship might carry more troops than its regular complement of marines. The Athenian fleet which operated around the Peloponnesus in 431 carried, in addition, 400 archers, presumably four to a ship.¹⁵ These we may classify as marines, although they were not regularly assigned. Quite frequently greater numbers sailed with the fleet. In the expedition to Ortygia in 416 there were 600 men on 30 ships.¹⁶ When the fleet sailed against Melos in 48, there were 2,000 on 60 ships.¹⁷ Twelve years later against the same island, 30 ships carried 1,520 troops.¹⁸ The expedition against Syracuse in 415 had 5,100 soldiers on a total of 134 triremes.¹⁹ In cases like these, of course, the troops were not serving as marines, but were merely being transported to the battlefield. Sometimes, no doubt, the fighting men were disposed through the whole fleet, and the ships thus became temporarily transports. At other times, the troops are carried in special transports, *stratiotides*, notably in the Sicilian expedition, where we are told that of the 100 Athenian ships, 40 were transports.

Social Status of Marines

IT IS A TRUISM that the class that fights the battles of the state is likely to have social and political status corresponding to its military importance. There is certainly a connection between the chariot warriors of the Homeric poems and the aristocratic monarchy of the heroic age; between the pre-eminence of the phalanx in the classical period and the hoplite franchise we meet with so frequently in the fifth century; and between the Athenian fleets rowed by the proletariat, and the extreme democracy of that city. It is only to be

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expected that the status of the marine would vary according to the military and political system of the individual city. Generally we find that the marine has the same status as the infantryman, which is appreciably higher than that of the common sailor.

In the Persian fleet at the beginning of the fifth century the crews are made up from the subject maritime states which furnished the ships: Ionians, Cilicians, Phoenicians and Egyptians. But the marines are the élite infantry of the Empire, the Persians themselves, the Medes, the Sacae, and the warrior castes of Egypt.²⁰

Roughly the same situation obtained in the Spartan fleet. At least an Athenian speaker in 369 says that in a Spartan fleet the captains and probably the marines would be Lacedaemonians, but the sailors either helots or mercenaries.²¹ And if Sparta could furnish citizen marines when her total population had fallen to about 1,500,²² she undoubtedly did so in the preceding century.

There is other evidence that generally the marines rated as more important than the sailors. Aristotle tells us that sailors need not be freemen, but that marines will be, and that they control the ship.²³ In many passages the marines are bracketed with the captains and officers as the élite of the ship.²⁴ This is not at all surprising in a state like Sparta whose social and economic system would permit no full citizen to be a seaman. But even in democratic Athens the marines seem to be in some ways a privileged group, although the distinction is not so clear-cut. Before Salamis it is to the marines, not the sailors that Themistocles makes his rallying speech.²⁵ When the orator Lysias is accusing an opponent of never having served the state, he says that he was neither horseman nor hoplite, neither captain nor marine.²⁶ When the Sicilian expedition is about to leave Athens, the libations are made by the commanders—and the marines.²⁷

Some of these remarks, e.g. those referring to the eve of Salamis and the departure for Sicily, are to be explained by the fact that every sailor had a specific post and a job to do, whereas the marines, being merely passengers

until the ship was in action, would be free to hear speeches and make libations.

Sailors and Marines

BUT WAS THERE any real distinction in economic class between sailors and marines? Specifically, we know that the sailors of Athens were from the lowest property class, the *thētēs*. Were the marines *thētēs*, or were they from the class above, the *zeugitai*, i.e. regular hoplites drawn from the catalog, or muster-roll?

Two passages seem to make it clear that the marines were *thētēs*. In describing the muster of the Athenian forces at Corcyra in 415, Thucydides distinguishes clearly the 1,500 hoplites from the muster-rolls²⁸ from the 700 *thētēs epibatae* of the 60 fighting ships.²⁹ But in the summer of 412, when Athenian naval fortunes were at their lowest ebb before Aegospotamoi, Leon and Diomedon sailed with an Athenian fleet to Chios having on board marines drafted compulsorily from the muster-rolls.³⁰

It seems obvious that the procedure in 415 before Athens had suffered any naval losses and when she was preparing the mightiest armada in her history would be more normal than that of 412 after the tremendous loss in ships and seafaring men at Syracuse. In 412, when half her empire was in revolt (and Athens thus cut off from her usual recruiting grounds for sailors) every available *thētēs* was needed for the rowing bench; whereas the hoplite class, which had suffered less severely and was not needed for other service at present, might well be drafted for shipboard duty.³¹

The theory that marines were usually drawn from the hoplite class,³² and that the use of *thētēs* in 415 was unique³³ or at least the first occasion,³⁴ can scarcely be based on these two passages.

Sometimes an argument has been drawn from Thucydides' statement that the marines who died in Aetolia in 426 were "the best men who fell in this war."³⁵ The word for best is *βέλτιστοι*, which can refer to social class, of course. "This war" obviously means the Archidamian War. If we take "best" in

the sense of social status, the statement³⁶ is incomprehensible, for no matter what class these men belonged to, it would not be superior to that of the regular hoplites who fell at Potidaea or Delium or Amphipolis. But it is perfectly understandable if we interpret it as referring to military virtue,³⁷ for they may well have been a special group picked from the whole corps of marines.³⁸

We can only conjecture what the exact organization and makeup of the Marine Corps was. The epibatae were probably a group of about 1,500-2,000 thetes, equipped by the state and trained in shipboard fighting, and perhaps organized in tribes like the hoplites. When a ship was to sail, its trierarch would draft his quota of marines, like his citizen sailors, from the tribal rolls. I would conjecture that the somewhat privileged status of the Athenian marines may have been in part due to their being Athenian citizens in greater measure than the seamen, who had the reputation of being largely mercenaries.³⁹

Sailors Non-Combatants

THE SAILORS and oarsmen normally did not participate in the fighting, but occasionally they carried arms⁴⁰ and not infrequently were provided with arms by the commander of the expedition and employed as light-armed troops⁴¹ or even as hoplites.⁴² Herodotus, possibly exaggerating, describes the crews of all the Persian fleet as armed in their national fashion.⁴³ This, of course, did not make marines of such seamen, since their employment as soldiers was incidental and exceptional. The same custom exists in modern navies, where parties of blue-jackets are occasionally used as landing parties.⁴⁴

The tactics and armament of marines when used as landing parties calls for no special comment, for they fought like any other land troops, with whom, of course, they were often brigaded. The same is true of boarders' battles, which Thucydides tells us were much like land battles.⁴⁵ In the melee of maneuvering ships, the marines made use of arrows, javelins, and long-thrusting spears against enemy marines and even the oarsmen in so far as the latter were not sheltered

by a sort of armor belt.⁴⁶ When a grappling iron was used to immobilize an enemy vessel in order to board, it was, of course, the marines who operated it.⁴⁷

In many accounts of naval expeditions we are told that extra hoplites went along, and, once landed, no distinction would be made between the two forces. Even more often no mention is made of the size of the land force and we are thus unable to tell whether regular hoplites were included or not. Nevertheless there are enough campaigns in which we are told that marines alone participated, or may reasonably conjecture that this was the case, to give us some idea of the role of the sea-soldiers in the building and defense of the Athenian empire.

We are told nothing about the composition of the force that landed from ships and defeated the Persians at Mycale in 479. It is clear however that at the very time when the Plataea campaign was going on, no hoplites could have been spared to serve with the fleet, and that the fighting must have been done by the marines and such Ionian and island Greeks as had joined their countrymen.⁴⁸ To the marines must also be assigned the siege and capture of Sestos on the Hellespont in the following winter, since it was conducted by the Athenian contingent from the same fleet.⁴⁹ A few years later Cimon won a victory much like Mycale at the mouth of the Erymedon River in Pamphyllia. The main action was fought on land by troops disembarked from the 200 Athenian triremes when the Persians declined a sea battle. The bulk of these men were of course marines, although Plutarch tells us that the ships had been especially reconstructed to carry more soldiers.⁵⁰

Landing Parties

IN ATHENS' first conflict with the Peloponnesians in the middle of the fifth century the marines were prominent. The descent on Halieis in 459 was a landing from ships, undoubtedly by marines.⁵¹ The siege of Aegina (458-7) required regular hoplites, of course; but the original landing and investing of the town seems to have been made by marines. For Thucydides tells us that immediately

after their naval victory off the island, the Athenians landed and besieged Aegina. It is improbable that extra hoplites would have been carried on ships which expected a naval engagement with a fleet as efficient as the Aeginetan and large enough to lose 70 ships.⁵² The Athenians probably had 100 ships, giving a marine force of about 1000, strong enough to start preliminary siege operations against a demoralized city.

The expedition of 200 ships sent by Athens in 459 to assist the Egyptian revolt against Persia carried no troops but marines; and to them is due the credit of capturing Memphis and holding it for nearly five years.⁵³

Pericles' expedition to the Corinthian Gulf in 453 in which he attacked Sicyon and joined the Achaeans in a campaign against Oeniadae was a marine campaign if the 1000 troops⁵⁴ really sailed on 100 triremes, as Plutarch tells us.⁵⁵

Throughout the Peloponnesian War the Athenian marines were constantly employed. This is particularly true of the Archidamian War, from 431 to 421; for during that time the Athenian fleet had almost undisputed control of the sea, and full-dress naval battles were few. Athenian strategy called for constant nuisance raids on exposed points of the enemy coast, and occasional seizure of fortified posts and beachheads from which more extensive campaigns inland could be organized. Such operations were the natural task of marines then as now.

Marines Alone

THERE ARE SOME cases in which figures given make it clear that only marines were involved. These include a sweep of 100 triremes around the Peloponnese in 431;⁵⁶ an expedition into Acarnania in the winter of 429/8 by Phormio and 400 marines from the squadron at Naupactus on the Corinthian Gulf;⁵⁷ the voyage of Demosthenes in 424 through the Corinthian Gulf, when he failed to get his 400 marines and an army of allies to Boeotia in time for the Delium campaign.⁵⁸

In some other campaigns no forces other than marines are mentioned or implied, and they very probably should be assigned to the

marines. In the summer of 431 a fleet of 30 operated off Locris, landing marines who seized Thronium and Atalante and defeated in pitched battle the field force of the Locricians.⁵⁹ The first expedition sent to block the revolt of Mitylene in 428 consisted of 40 ships, and apparently no troops but marines, although reinforcements were soon brought in from Lemnos and Imbros.⁶⁰ In 428 Asopus raided around Laconia to Oeniadae and Leucas, where he finally lost his life and part of his marine contingent.⁶¹ At the time of Brasidas' seizure of Amphipolis in 424 it was the timely arrival of Thucydides' eight ships and their marines that prevented the fall of Eion.⁶²

Ominously indicative of a common employment of marines in the fourth century were two small expeditions to Caria, in 430/29 and 428, partly to put down piracy, but chiefly for what the Athenians quaintly referred to as "silver collecting." Both ended disastrously.⁶³

During the first Athenian expedition to Sicily in 427-23, Athenian participation in the land fighting was confined to the marines who won a number of successes in landing operations: at Mylae and Locris in 426, and Messina in 425.⁶⁴

The battle of Cyzicus in 410, where the Spartans lost the best part of a fleet of 60 and their admiral Mindaros, was chiefly a land battle between the marines of Alcibiades and those of Mindaros.⁶⁵

Perhaps the most elaborate marine expedition of the war was that conducted by Demosthenes in a squadron of 30 ships in 426.⁶⁶ With his 300 marines as a nucleus, and gathering a force of Acarnanians and other allies, he operated against Leucas and finally Aetolia, where he met disaster, losing nearly half his contingent.⁶⁷ The ships and surviving marines were sent home. The following winter Demosthenes, commanding a force of western allies, inflicted a catastrophic defeat on the Ambraciots and their Peloponnesian allies.⁶⁸ The only Athenian force specifically mentioned was a group of 60 archers.⁶⁹ But the "few Athenians"⁷⁰ later mentioned as receiving a third of the spoil,⁷¹ and as departing

with Demosthenes⁷² seem to play a more important role in the story than we would expect of 60 light-armed archers. It seems very probable that Demosthenes also had under his command the 200 marines from the 20 ships of Aristoteles which were operating in the same region at the time.⁷³

Marines at Pylos

THE PYLOS-SPHACTERIA campaign in 425 eventually involved all branches of the Athenian forces in large numbers, but it seems likely that the original seizure and defense of Pylos was made largely by marines, again under Demosthenes. We are told that 40 ships were despatched to Sicily under command of Sophocles and Eurymedon.⁷⁴ No force of hoplites is mentioned, and as the earlier squadron to Sicily had carried nothing but marines and seamen, it is likely that this one did too,⁷⁵ especially as Thucydides makes it clear that it was ships that were needed in Sicily.⁷⁶ After Pylos had been hastily fortified, the generals sailed off leaving Demosthenes with five ships to hold the place.⁷⁷ Demosthenes later decreased this number by sending two ships with a call for help to the fleet at Corcyra.⁷⁸ At the time when the Peloponnesians made their first attack, Demosthenes had armed his sailors as best he could, and had received a reinforcement of 40 Messenians from a passing privateer.⁷⁹ In making his preparations for defense he picked 60 hoplites to prevent a landing at the one place where it could be expected; the rest, and the light armed, guarded the stockade.⁸⁰ Probably Demosthenes had 90 hoplites under his command: the 40 Messenians and the 50 marines from the ships, provided that he had held back the marines from the two ships sent to Corcyra.⁸¹ In addition he had something better than 500 sailors armed as skirmishers. It is quite reasonable that when the attack came he employed two thirds of his shock troops to beat off the landing. Since no other soldiers are mentioned, and the figures agree with the assumption that only marines were present, it seems legitimate to credit that corps with the initial capture of Pylos.

The activities of the marines in the Corinthian War of 395-86 can also be traced. In 394 after their victory over the Peloponnesians off Cnidus, Pharnabazus and Conon sailed among the islands expelling Spartan harriers and garrisons, a job that must have been done by marines, though probably few were from Athens.⁸² In the next spring they sailed to Greece with a large fleet "having hired in addition a large mercenary force."⁸³ Since this was not for a land campaign but merely to raid the enemy shore, the mercenaries were undoubtedly Greeks hired as marines to stiffen a fleet made up largely of oriental seamen; just as Cyrus a few years earlier had hired Greek mercenaries to stiffen the army with which he had warred upon his brother. These same marines seized Cythera, a grievous blow to Sparta.⁸⁴

The expedition of Thrasybulus in 390/89 which restored Athenian control in the Hellespont and Lesbos was made with a force of 400 marines from 40 ships, and included a signal victory over a group of Spartan marines under Therimachus. But it ended with the death of Thrasybulus and a part of his force in a landing at Aspendus.⁸⁵

It would be exaggerated, of course to claim as a marine campaign every Athenian expedition which made a landing in enemy territory. The most striking Athenian successes of the Archidamian War, the capture of Sphacteria, Cythera and Methone, and the raids on Thyrea and other places, were made with large forces; that against Cythera, for example, had a few cavalry and 2,000 hoplites, of which only 600 could have been marines.⁸⁶ The force that raided the Corinthian and took Methone was made up of 200 horsemen and 2,000 soldiers, 800 of them marines.⁸⁷ But it is obvious that in any campaign in which marines made up roughly one-third of the force, and which consisted of winning a beach-head on a hostile shore, the marines, especially trained for this type of warfare, must have played a very important role. And it is worthy of note that the actions which really hurt Sparta and gave the Athenians the upper hand in this war were just such campaigns.

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¹³ 3.

⁴ 31. 1.

⁸ 25.

¹⁴ 6.

¹⁵ 2.

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²² K.

²³ Pol-

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²⁵ arch P-

²⁶ He-

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³³ A.

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³⁴ P. I.

³⁵ E. I.

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⁴¹ L. 2.

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⁴³ 4. 3.

NOTES

(References are to Thucydides unless otherwise specified.)

¹ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago, 1906) 2, 454, 460, 468, 472 and n. a.

² Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1912) fig. 123.

³ 1. 10. 4.

⁴ 1. 13. 4.

⁵ E.g. Hesychius, Harpocration, Suidas, s.v. *krisárae*.

⁶ Cf. G. Cant, *The War at Sea* (New York, 1942) 57-58.

⁷ 1. 49. 1-2.

⁸ 7. 67. 2.

⁹ Herodotus 6. 15.

¹⁰ Plutarch *Themistocles* 14.

¹¹ Herodotus 7. 184.

¹² CIA II. 959.

¹³ 3. 91. 1 and 95. 2; 2. 69. 1 and 92. 7 and 102. 1;

¹⁴ 31. 1, 32. 2 and 76. 1 and 101. 3; Xenophon *Hellenica* 4. 8. 25 and 28.

¹⁵ 6. 43.

¹⁶ 2. 23. 2.

¹⁷ 6. 7. 2.

¹⁸ 3. 91. 1.

¹⁹ 5. 84. 1.

²⁰ 6. 43.

²¹ Herodotus 7. 96, 184; 8. 130; 9. 32.

²² Xenophon *Hellenica* 7. 1. 12.

²³ K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 3 (Berlin, 1922) 282.

²⁴ Politics 1327 b.

²⁵ Xenophon *Hellenica* 1. 1. 28; Herodotus 8. 83; Plutarch *Pericles* 28.

²⁶ Herodotus 8. 83.

²⁷ Lysias 6. 46.

²⁸ 6. 32. 1.

²⁹ 6. 43; δέ κατελόγου.

³⁰ τοξέων.

³¹ 8. 24. 2: δέ κατελόγου διοργάνωτος.

³² So G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte* 3 (Gotha, 1904) 872.

³³ A. Cartault, *La trière athénienne* (Paris, 1881) 236; R. Sargent in CP 22 (1927) 274.

³⁴ P. Paris in Daremberg-Saglio s.v. *epibatae*.

³⁵ E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* (Halle, 1899) 1. 159-60.

³⁶ 3. 98. 4; cf. 3. 95. 2.

³⁷ Poppe-Stahl edition (Leipzig, 1875) ad loc. Crawley (Modern Library edition) translates "by far the best men"; J. B. Bury, *History of Greece* (London, 1927) p. 44: "the very finest men," which does nothing to clear up the question of class.

³⁸ J. Classen's edition (Berlin, 1875) ad loc.: "tapfersten"; Busolt op. cit. 3. 1060: "tückigsten."

³⁹ Jowett in his commentary (Oxford, 1801) refers to "chosen battalions."

⁴⁰ 1. 121. 3.

⁴¹ 7. 1. 3: δοῦοι μὴ εἰχον δύλα.

⁴² 4. 32. 2; Xenophon *Hellenica* 1. 2. 1.

⁴³ 8. 17. 1; 7. 1. 3; Xenophon *Hellenica* 5. 1; 1. 1. 24.

⁴⁴ 7. 89-95.

⁴⁵ Cf. the British naval detachment at Antwerp in 1914; W. Churchill, *The World Crisis* (New York, 1931) pp. 196 ff.

⁴⁶ 1. 49. 1-2.

⁴⁷ 7. 70. 5. On protection for oarsmen, cf. C. Torr, *Ancient Ships* (Cambridge, 1895) p. 51. Plato *Laches* 183 D-184 A mentions a long spear with a sickle on the end as unusual. It may have been intended to cut enemy rigging. Cf. Caesar *Bell. Gall.* 3. 14.

⁴⁸ 4. 23. 4; 7. 62. 3; 7. 65. 2.

⁴⁹ No figures are given for the Greek forces. The fleet is numbered as 110 by Herod. 8. 131; as 250 by Diodorus 11. 34. 2, a discrepancy that Glotz (*Histoire grecque* 2 [Paris, 1938] 93) explains by the addition of the Athenian contingent between the muster at Aegina and the departure from Samos. Glotz (apparently following How and Wells *Commentary on Herodotus* [Oxford, 1912] 2. 395-396) speaks of 6000 Greeks at Mycale; Beloch (op. cit. 2. 1. 59 n. 2), using Diodorus' figures, of 2000-3000. Beloch's figures would give 18-27 marines per ship; Glotz' an average of 24. The number on the Athenian ships at Salamis was 18 according to Plutarch *Themistocles* 14. It is certainly unlikely that more hoplites would have been with the fleet during the Plataea campaign.

⁵⁰ Herodotus 9. 114, 117-118.

⁵¹ Plutarch *Cimon* 12; Diodorus 11. 60-62; Beloch op. cit. 2. 2. 160.

⁵² Whether an Athenian defeat as in 1. 105. 1, or a victory, Diodorus 11. 78. 2.

⁵³ 1. 105. 2. The Aeginetans had won the prize of valor at Salamis only 18 years before: Herodotus 8. 93.

⁵⁴ 1. 104, 109.

⁵⁵ I. III. 2.

⁵⁶ Pericles 19. Diodorus 11. 85. 1 gives the number as 50. Busolt (3. 334 n. 3) rejects both figures on the grounds that no such number of ships could have been stationed at Pagae. But Thucydides' concise narrative does not say that they were a permanent squadron there. A cruise of 100 triremes was not unusual, and they may simply have been at Pagae on their way somewhere when the decision was made to send them to the Corinthian Gulf.

⁵⁷ 2. 23, 25, 30, 31; Diodorus 12. 42. 7-8; 43.

⁵⁸ 2. 103.

⁵⁹ 4. 77. 1-2; 101. 3-4.

⁶⁰ 2. 26, 32; Diodorus 12. 44. 1-2.

⁶¹ 3. 3. 2; 3. 5. 1-2.

⁶² 3. 7.

⁶³ 4. 106. 3-4.

⁶⁴ ἀργυρολογία. 2. 69; 3. 19.

⁶⁵ 3. 90. 3; 3. 99 and 103. 3; 4. 25. 11.

⁶⁶ Xenophon *Hellenica* 1. 1. 17-18.

⁶⁷ 3. 91. 1.

⁶⁸ 3. 94-98.

⁶⁹ 3. 105-114.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 107. 1.

⁷¹ Ibid., 4.

⁷² Ibid., 113. 6.

⁷² Ibid., 114. 1.

⁷³ Ibid., 105. 3; 112. 7.

⁷⁴ 4. 2. 2.

⁷⁵ The mention of taxiarchs here might give the impression that regular infantry were involved, as officers of this name regularly commanded the tribal regiments. But if the regular infantry commanders were with the fleet, the implication would be that the bulk of the Athenian field force was with them, several thousand at least, obviously impossible on so small a number of ships as 40. These taxiarchs must have been naval officers of some kind, as suggested by Lamert (PW s.v. *ταξιάρχος*) on the evidence of Xenophon Hellenica 1. 6, 29, 35; 1. 7, 30, 31. Similar suggestion by Arn, *apud Poppo-Stahl edition of Thucydides, ad loc.*

⁷⁶ 3. 115. 3-4.

⁷⁷ 4. 5. 2.

⁷⁸ 4. 8. 3.

⁷⁹ 4. 9. 1.

⁸⁰ 4. 9. 2.

⁸¹ As Classen suggests; though why he says the marines were "in der Regel 20 auf die Tiere" is not clear.

⁸² Xenophon Hellenica 4. 8. 1-2. Though some may be included in the *ληπτείας* mentioned in Hellenica Oxyrhyncha 2. 1.

⁸³ Xenophon Hellenica 4. 8. 7.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 4. 8. 8.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 4. 8. 25-30.

⁸⁶ 4. 53. 1.

⁸⁷ 4. 42. 1.

We See by the Papers . . .

We urge all our readers to appoint themselves special clipping bureaus for this department, and to forward material to us suitably marked with the name of the periodical and the date of issue. If an item appears in a magazine that you do not wish to clip, send us the gist of the material on a penny postcard!—The Editors.

ULYSSES WAS the first draft dodger, declared an officer of Selective Service Headquarters in an interview published by UP September 30, and Moses held the first draft registration. He related how Ulysses feigned insanity but dropped the pretense when his infant son was placed in the path of his plow, and then was required to join with other Greeks in the Trojan War. The officer made it clear that the draft bill of Moses was divinely ordered; and he did his best to make a case against the crafty son of Laertes: "If Ulysses tried to pull a stunt like that nowadays, it would constitute willful violation of the selective service act. Under such a violation, Ulysses would be liable to five years imprisonment, or a fine of \$10,000, or both."

ANOTHER HOMERIC ECHO was detected in the SATURDAY EVENING POST of September 18 by Professor Virginia Moscrip of the University of Rochester. From the story "Tugboat Annie Races the Tide" by Norman Reilly Raine, she

quotes a speech recalling the words of Tiresias to Odysseus (Od. 11.121-132): "Not me, brother I'm gonna finish up the business o' Bullwinkle an' that loggin' company; then I'll take me savin's, such as they is, an' stick a oar over me shoulder an' start walkin' inland, an' when some body axes me what the oar is, there I'll settle."

AND NOW A VERGILIAN parallel, submitted by Professor E. Adelaide Hahn of Hunter College. The NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE of October 17 reported that volumes of carbon dioxide emitted over Mammoth Hot Springs in Yellowstone National Park were killing birds flying over the springs. Dr. Hahn cites Vergil. Aen. 6.239-241, on Lake Avernus:

quam super haud ullaे poterant impune volantes

tendere iter pinnis; talis sece halitus atris faucibus effundens super ad convexa ferent. She refers also to the description of the place in Lucretius, 6.738-768.

REFLECTING ON the dearth of news from Rumania, where "foreign correspondents are no longer welcome," the writer of "Topics of the Times" in the NEW YORK TIMES of October 30, slyly suggests that there may be a revival of interest in the reports of a former Balkan correspondent, some of whose dispatches were aptly titled *Tristia*. He describes the circumstances of Ovid's relegatio and touches on some of the strange things that he found to report. Tomi "had been visited by Medea, the same cruel lady who was appearing in the New York theatre just

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 194

"L'électeur est fragile;
Et pour qu'il vote bien
Il nous faut être habile
Et ne négliger rien."

LABICHE

Quo plus mutatur
eo idem fit!

Electioneering—Then and Now

Mary A. Sollmann

SPEAKING OF ELECTIONS—as who has not been in this campaign year—it is interesting to take a look at the election customs that prevailed in the Republican era of Rome, and to observe how they compare with those of the present time.

In America, November is the month of elections. In ancient Rome they were held in July, unless obstructionists succeeded in postponing them if they saw things were going against their man. In 59 B.C. they were not held until October. In 54 bribery and violence made things so hot (Cicero, *Ad Att.* 4:15: "ardet ambitus") that they were not held at all.

Voting took place in the *saepta* or *ovile*, so called from the resemblance to a sheepfold. Voters were handed a ballot, *tabella*, on which they wrote, or checked, the name of the candidate they favored, and went to cast their ballot in the stall allotted to their tribe or century. A majority of votes in a century determined the vote of the century, and the majority of centuries the whole assembly. In the centuriate assembly, presided over by a consul, the censors, consuls and praetors were elected. In the tribal assembly the lower officials: *quaestors*, *tribunes*, *curule aediles*, were elected by similar procedure. The lot was cast to decide which tribe was to vote first and as soon as its vote was announced the others voted simultaneously. It is remarked that the election generally went the way of the first tribe ("As Maine goes, so goes the nation"), which adds to the appropriateness of the term *ovile*, sheepfold.

Rome voted on the unit system. The centuriate assembly was at first strongly timocratic. Since it was organized on a property basis, the votes of the first class, 98 centuries,

controlled the assembly and there was no need to vote further. The tribal assembly, organized on a geographical basis, was aimed to correct this situation. But various considerations—at first the limiting of city representation to four tribes, later the fact that a man inherited the tribe membership of his father regardless of his place of residence, and that freedmen were restricted to certain tribes—still made for unequal representation. Country voters found it difficult to get to Rome to vote, and obstructionary tactics might postpone the election and make a trip to the city void, so it was often the case that country tribes were represented by a few wealthy landholders resident in Rome, or by dispossessed landholders who had joined the city rabble. The latter made for bribery. As in the English "rotten borough" system, it was worthwhile for politicians to pay high prices for the votes of certain doubtful tribes.

The party convention is an invention of American politicians. In Rome, a man announced his own candidacy by appearing in a chalked toga (*candida*—hence our word, "candidate.") Modern campaign managers have not produced the equal of this simple but conspicuous device. There was no hiring of halls by managers for particular candidates to make speeches, but friendly magistrates generously recognized candidates in the assemblies, *contiones*, where they could express their views on any subject. However, as Quintus Cicero recognized, it was better not to commit oneself more than necessary before the election, for by doing so the candidate was bound to offend one faction or another. Vague generalities were, and are, considered safer material for campaign speeches.

It was the custom to begin electioneering

a year in advance. Cicero mentions one of his rivals who began earlier, but his doing so only served the purpose of a Gallup poll in discovering among the people a preference for Cicero. Candidates were expected to attend and give banquets, the antecedents of present day boatrides and clambakes. There is no mention of baby-kissing—women did not have the vote then, though some, like Cornelia, Servilia and Clodia, were powers in politics and exerted great influence through their salons. Handshaking is suggested by one term for canvassing: *prensatio*. Others: *petitio* (seeking) and *ambitio* (going the rounds) have obvious English derivatives.

Bribery

A SECOND VERSION of the last word: *ambitus*, was most often used in the bad sense of election bribery, which was rampant in the last years in spite of repeated efforts to stop it by legislation. In 67 the Lex Calpurnia was proposed by the reluctant consul whose name it bears, under pressure from the reforming tribune Cornelius. The electoral purchasing agents, *divisores*, actually mobbed the consul who proposed it. This law provided that candidates who bribed should forfeit both the office to which they were elected and their seat in the senate. Because of organized resistance to this law the elections of the year 66 were held three times. As consul, Cicero put teeth in the law by adding the penalty of exile. In the *Pro Murena*, defending a friend in whose innocence he could not have had much faith, Cicero tries to give the impression that he proposed this unpopular measure under pressure, and that it was, to use a current phrase, "plenty stiff." Actually, as long as the organization put the control of elections in the hands of a relatively small number who voted in the rural tribes, the temptation was too great for any but a "Platonist" like Cicero to resist. Quintus Cicero, recognizing that in his brother's moral strength lay his weakness, bases his advice on the program of a clean campaign without bribery.

In other points his letter to Marcus, which has come down to us under the title *Commentariolum Petitionis Consulatus*, and which

he hoped might be revised and published as a Handbook of Electioneering, is eminently practical. In this case, he could only hope that a healthy respect for Cicero's silver tongue might inject the fear of consequences into his opponents and their agents. There is, however, no contradiction of Cicero's instinctive feeling that to be contemplating prosecution of an opponent is psychologically a confession of defeat. To quote the *Pro Murena* (43, translation of Louis E. Lord): "There is a time for seeking office and a time for prosecution. A candidate should be escorted to the forum and the Campus with high hopes, great enthusiasm, and great crowds of retainers. I have no pleasure in a candidate's search for charges—a herald of defeat—not his collecting witnesses rather than votes, uttering threats rather than compliments, quarrelsome talk rather than friendly greetings, especially as every one runs about to the homes of all the candidates and by their appearance judges how much courage and resource each seems to have. 'Did you see him, wrapped in gloom, head hanging down? He's down, he's given up, he's thrown away his weapons. I shall vote for some one else now that he's given up in despair.' His friends lose enthusiasm, and in campaign enthusiasm, *studium*, is the principal thing." So, Quintus is careful to say that he does not wish Marcus to make it appear that he is already meditating an action. The prevalence of bribery is shown by the observation: "I notice that there are no elections so deeply tainted with corruption but that some centuries return men closely connected with them without receiving money." The last sentence is quoted from Shuckburgh's translation of the *Commentariolum*, which has been used very freely in this article, both literally and by paraphrase. The reader is invited to insert his own "Then and Now."

The practice of law was not the only road to the consulate. In the *Pro Murena*, arguing *pro casu*, Cicero glorifies the military. By comparing Cicero's services with those of that arch-disappointment Pompey, I think that most will agree that it was, and is, a sounder preparation. Writing to help Mar-

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the lawyer, the practical Quintus builds upon the assets that he has, and urges the clear-eyed view: Never lose sight of the essential. "Consider what the state is, what it is you seek, and who you are that seek it." Keep these things in mind in your daily walk to the forum: "I am a new man. I seek the consulate. This is Rome."

"*Novus sum.*" We have in America the exclusiveness of Society with a capital S—the parallel is not close, because American Society is based as much on money as on birth—but it is hard for us to realize the unusual character, in Roman society, of the election of the year 64. M. Tullius Cicero, knight of Arpinum, won the consulship with the support of "the 400," who usually stopped at nothing to keep the highest office for their own exclusive circle of hereditary aristocracy. As Quintus knew, Cicero's most effective weapon was the brilliance of his oratory. "A man who is held worthy of defending consuls cannot be thought unworthy of the consulship." Do your best, always. Approach each case as though it were to be the final criterion of your worth. You have advantages that few men have: all the tax farmers (*publicani*) on your side, almost all the knights, many towns attached to you personally, men of every order whom you have defended, some clubs, besides a large number of young men who have been won to you by their enthusiasm for oratory, a large and constant circle of friends in daily attendance.

Politics and Friendship

THESE FRIENDS are not the ideal friends of the *De Amicitia*, but in canvass the word is allowed to cover a multitude of sinners. One of the advantages of campaigning is that a man is expected to extend his friendship beyond the usual bounds. Open your house, but more important your heart, for the one does little good without the other. You must secure friends of every class: for show, men conspicuous for their office or name who, even if they do not give assistance in canvassing, add to your prestige. (Cicero wrote jokingly to Atticus that he did not expect Pompey to return from the wars to work for his cam-

paign.) To secure the votes of the centuries, court the favor of men popular with the voters. Judge your man, lest you be deceived in your hopes. "Certain men are popular in their own neighborhoods and towns; others, possessed of energy and wealth, even if they have not till now sought such popularity can easily obtain it for the name of one to whom they owe or wish to do a favor."

"Your candidature is most strongly supported by the class of friendships which you have gained as counsel for the defence." Quintus cites four clubs of men who were committed to Cicero through his defence of individual members. "I am acquainted with what their clubsmen undertook and promised you to do, for I was present at the interview." Take nothing for granted. Remind those in your favor that now, and now alone, is their opportunity to repay what they owe you—in modern political lingo, "This is the pay off." By very small favors, men are induced to think that they have sufficient reason for giving support at the polls, and surely those you have saved cannot fail to understand that, if at this supreme crisis they fail to do what you wish, they will never have anyone's confidence. And though this is so, nevertheless they must be appealed to, and must even be led to think it possible that they, who have hitherto been under an obligation to us, may now put us under obligation to them. [Excellent psychology and understanding of human nature.] Those, again, who are influenced by hope of favors to come (a class much more apt to be scrupulously attentive) you must take care to convince that your assistance is at their service at any moment, and to make them understand that you are taking note of the amount of support coming from each one of them. A third class of spontaneous and sincere friends you will have to make more secure by expressions of your gratitude, by making your words tally with the motives that led them to take up your cause, by showing them that the affection is mutual, and by suggesting that your friendship with them may ripen into intimacy.

Quintus' plan for the organization of Cicero's *petitio* is worthy of a twentieth-

century campaign manager. Nothing is to be neglected. Win the leaders of each group—the rest will follow. Contacts are to be made with senators, knights and freedmen both personally and through common friends. The entire city is to be blocked out: all *collegia*, districts, neighborhoods. Ward leaders are to be appointed. Then Cicero is to have by heart a chart of all Italy, laid out according to the tribe of the various towns, and seek proxies to represent him there. We know from a letter to Atticus that Cicero planned to go on a campaigning junket to Cisalpine Gaul in the fall preceding the election. There were government funds available for such trips. They were called *liberae legationes*, "legations, for free." I suppose the holders were "good-will ambassadors." The privilege was abused, then as now. Cicero has an advantage over his opponents in his excellent memory for names. Leaders of the country vote are flattered when they are called by name. But it is not enough to be a mere *nomenclator*. You must make them feel that you are offering them a sincere and lasting friendship—not one to endure for the election only.

Morning Callers

AN IMPORTANT barometer of public opinion is the number of every class and order who pay their respects to the candidate by "attending" him. Such visitors are of three kinds: one consists of the "morning callers," *salutatores*, who come to your house; a second, *deductatores*, who escort you to the forum; the third, *adsectatores*, are in constant attendance on you during your canvass. Due appreciation must be shown to each—directly, and through remarks to such of their friends as will repeat it to them. It often happens that men who go the rounds of the "morning call" to the houses of a number of candidates [who play the field] and see that there is one who takes especial note of their attention, become his loyal supporters and give up the rest. As the *deductio* is a greater attention you should show even greater appreciation of this honor, and make it easier for your followers by planning to go down to the forum at regular hours. Of the third group,

those in constant attendance—those who pay you this service of their own free will are to be made to feel that you will be forever in their debt; from those, on the other hand, who owe you this attention frankly demand that, so far as their age and business allow, they should be in personal attendance, and that those who cannot accompany you in person should find relatives to take their place. Put this demand fairly before them that, since without payment you have saved for some their property, for others their honor, for others their civil existence and entire fortunes, now is the time for them to show their gratitude, and that they will never have another chance.

Every man in politics has his enemies as well as his friends. As to detractors and opponents, there are, again, three kinds. First, those whom you have attacked. If you attacked them while pleading a friend's case against them, frankly excuse yourself, and give them reason to hope that you will act with equal zeal and loyalty in their cases, if they become your friends. Second, those who dislike you without definite reason. Do your best to remove that prejudice by some actual service, or by holding out hopes of it, or by indicating your kindly feelings towards them. Third, those who are warm friends of your competitors. Show that you are kindly disposed to the very men who are standing against you. [It was sometimes possible to make a deal, *cotitio*, with one of the opponents for mutual support. It is interesting that in the very early stages of his planning Cicero considered making such a deal with Catiline.]

To win popular favor one thing cannot be stressed enough. That is *comitas*, affability. Though Cicero is not without natural gifts in this line, in electioneering, nature is to be improved upon. A flattering manner, *blanitia*, is not only to be excused, but even commended in a candidate, whose face and expression and style of conversation have to be varied and accommodated to the feelings and tastes of everyone he meets [the candidate should be all things to all men]. Men desire not only to have promises made to them, but to have them made in a liberal and compli-

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mentary manner. Accordingly, make it a rule that whatever you are going to do, you will do with heartiness and pleasure.

Thus far, Quintus expects his brother to go along with him. In the next step he anticipates some difficulty. It is that headache of all politicians—campaign promises: easy to make and easy to break. But will Marcus, a man of conscience, agree to this? The matter requires delicate handling. If one must refuse a request, one should excuse oneself gracefully—*comitatis*, again. The story is told of certain orators that a client had been better pleased with the one who declined to defend him, than with the one who accepted. [But it did not work out that way for Cicero, when he had to refuse Atticus' difficult uncle, Caelius!]. However, the more common experience is that men prefer an insincere promise to a direct refusal from you. C. Cotta, a master in the art of electioneering, used to say that he promised his assistance to all and bestowed it where it would bring the most return. He did not refuse anyone, because it sometimes turned out that he was less busy than he thought he was going to be, and if a man undertook only what he saw his way to perform, how could he keep a crowd on his doorstep? The worst that can happen is that the man to whom you made the promise is angry. This last risk is uncertain, is prospective, and affects only a few; but if you refuse, the offence given is certain, immediate, and more widely diffused. For many more ask to be allowed to avail themselves of the help of another than actually do so. And so it is better that some of them should at times be angry at you in the forum, than all of them perpetually at your own house. Especially as they are more inclined to be angry with those who refuse, than with a man who is unable to keep his promise, though he would like to do so.

Persistence

SECOND TO CHARM in winning popular favor are persistence and thoroughness. *Assiduitas* is the Latin word for this, and as Quintus says, the word speaks for itself. It means not only being at Rome and in the

forum, but pushing one's canvass assiduously, addressing again and again the same persons, making it impossible for anyone to say that he has not been asked by you, and earnestly and carefully asked.

"Lastly, take care that your whole candidature is full of éclat, brilliant, splendid, suited to the popular taste, presenting a spectacle of the utmost dignity and magnificence. See also, if possible, that some new scandal is started against your competitors for crime or looseness of life or corruption, such as in harmony with their characters." In other words, the smear campaign. For his brother's two chief opponents, Catiline and Antonius, Quintus provided details in another part of the letter, and these Cicero used, borrowing even the words, in his candidate's speech *In Toga Candida*, delivered a few days before the election. The similarity of expression has been used by some as an argument for denying Quintus' authorship of the *Commentariolum*—not very convincingly, for Cicero would be only falling in with Quintus' purpose in writing the pamphlet if he found in it phrases of practical help in his campaign. "These are the points that I thought, not that I knew better than you, but that I could more easily than you—in the pressing state of your present engagements—collect together and send you written out. And although they are written in such terms as not to apply to all candidates for office, but to your special case and to your particular election, yet I should be glad if you would tell me of anything that should be corrected or entirely struck out, or that has been omitted. For I wish this little essay 'on the duties of a candidate' to be regarded as complete in every respect."

Quintus had ambitions as a man of letters. He wrote much, including the *tour de force* of four tragedies which he claimed to have composed in sixteen days. Only this pamphlet has come down to us in complete form. If he could know how his essay applies today, even in its unrevised state, I think that Quintus might be content to have his fame rest upon the practical—his exploits as a soldier, celebrated in Caesar's *Commentaries*, and his

electioneering pamphlet. With many a younger brother of a famous man fate has dealt less kindly.

But finally, as Cicero remarks in the *Pro Murena* (Lord's translation, 35): "What strait, what Euripus, do you think has so many eddies, so great and so variable surges and commotion of current, as are the eddies and currents in the system of elections? The loss of a day or the advent of a night often changes everything, and a slight breath of

rumour sometimes alters every opinion. Often even without any apparent cause things happen so contrary to your expectation that sometimes even the people wonder at the course of events, as if they had not themselves been responsible. Nothing is less to be relied upon than the common herd, nothing more treacherous than the whole system of elections."

Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.

"WE SEE BY THE PAPERS"

Continued from Page 188

last season. But it had long since fallen into the hands of those forerunners of the Russians in these parts—Getae, Sarmatians, and Scythians who had a veneer of Greek civilization but remained more *barbaroi* than Greeks. . . . Swarms of horsemen would ride round and round the little walled town and shoot poisoned arrows into it. Ovid had to put on a helmet like any GI and take his place on the walls to defend the town." (Thanks to Professor C. W. Barlow of Clark University.)

by Dean Earl J. McGrath, who has recently resigned from the College of Liberal Arts of the University of Iowa, according to a story in the DAILY IOWAN September 28. Readers of CJ will recognise Dean McGrath as one of the non-fictional characters in Professor Dorrance S. White's fictitious dialogue, "The General Education Movement and the Classics," in our last issue.

APROPOS OF NOTHING, it would seem, the New York HERALD TRIBUNE (September 28) takes pleasure in stating that there were divers in fifth-century Greece who carried on underwater demolition operations. The clearing of the barriers which blocked the harbor of Syracuse is cited. Interesting, and true. Professor John W. Spaeth, Jr., of Wesleyan University sent us the clipping.

REQUIRED LATIN AND GREEK, 24 and 18 hours respectively, mathematics and science, and no electives! These, for 160 semester hours as compared to the usual 120 to 130, are the outstanding features of a new Honors Bachelor of Arts curriculum announced by Xavier College in Cincinnati. It looks like serious business, as described in the New York TIMES of October 10. (Thanks to Professor Spaeth again.)

A NEW PROJECT in the education of future college teachers at the University of Chicago is headed

THE HIPPOCRATIC OATH, honored by doctors in all countries and all ages, is to be superseded by a new version recently adopted by the World Medical Association at Geneva, says an article in the St. Louis POST-DISPATCH October 14. The new oath preserves the spirit of that prescribed by the Father of Medicine, but is supposed to be more accurately tailored to the twentieth century of the Christian era. Witness, for example: "I will not permit considerations of race, religion, nationality, party politics, or social standings to intervene between my duty and my patient." Was Hippocrates able to take these things for granted? One wonders.

RE: DUOSSESQUICENTENNIAL (CJ October, 1944, 44-73), Mr. Dan R. Mortoss of Philadelphia writes as follows. "Nearly a score of years ago the question of what word to use for the 250th anniversary was presented to a number Latin teachers in this area. With a sudden flash it occurred to the writer that the Roman *sestercius*

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An amateur philologist looks at

Linguam Coquinariam

Joseph D. Vehling

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: May I welcome you not only as guests of the Hotel Pfister, but also as exponents of the classical languages—a subject dear to me ever since my school days when I recited "Amo, amas, amat. . . ."

Now, my friends, I wish to alert you: you are here facing an extraordinary and unorthodox situation. Have we here a philologist furnishing a commercial meal—an everyday catering business transaction, or is it a hotel steward who presumes to regale a learned company of experts with a philological symposium? Anyway, the situation is baffling, perplexing even to myself. My public, too, adds to the dilemma. My colleagues and business rivals, the chefs, say: "Mr. Vehling is a great scientist but a poor cook." My friends, the philologists, say: "Mr. Vehling is a great cook, but as a scientist, he is negligible."

However curious this may be, there are things more puzzling than that. One of them is our topic of the day, lingua coquinaria. I certainly do not propose to enlighten a body of classical scholars on the subject of languages. This is merely a plea for somebody to do something. I wish to state briefly my own reaction towards language in general and to kitchen language in particular.

Early in my business career I heard a great number of astonishing words that supposedly meant something or other, about which I knew nothing at all, nor did anybody else fully comprehend them. Yet everybody was chafing and fretting under this bombardment of outlandish sounds; some ambitious individuals were actually quarreling about the mysteries that were too deep for them.

I found out: where ignorance is folly, it certainly is not blissful to be wise or curious. The only redeeming feature about the whole business is that nobody—neither the practitioners nor the public—understands this

trade vocabulary, or the situation might be definitely worse. This, by the way, reminds us of the enigmatic prescriptions issued by the medicos to their pharmacists which the suffering public takes to heart so religiously, without batting an eye.

Because the information I received to my persistent questions was unsatisfactory, I proceeded independently to penetrate that jungle of kitchen language.

Cooks usually are very busy, very harassed fellows. I sympathize with them for ignoring such trifles as orthography, or for wasting no time pondering over the meaning of mysterious words. Some chefs edit from five to fifteen daily publications, called bills of fare; when the deadline comes around, when the printers shout "Copy" the poor fellows sweat bullets. I have yet to hear of a typographer who would help out a harassed author with the spelling or editing of copy. Such a charitable fellow simply does not exist in this cruel world.

There you are. These cooks (and of course, their readers) wrestle with a maze of details and processes of a polyglot nature, with an outlandish terminology piled up during the past 2,500 years of so-called civilization, a conglomerate of a dozen different tongues, a miniature tower of Babel. Most cooks are unable to master this thesaurus of technical terms because of overwork, or because of the lack of opportunity or disinclination to study, and they have my tacit approval whenever they sidestep the issue diplomatically. That, nevertheless, is foolish enough. Running away from a distasteful and hopeless subject brings us right back to the same dilemma. Still, it is human to do so, and this is precisely what everybody is doing—the cooks, and their public, including the philologists who should know better. Yes, the philologists, with very few exceptions, have done just that. Whenever a classical scholar picked up a tome of

cookery he usually dropped it like a hot potato, smiling, shrugging, "lingua coquinaria—kitchen language!" The few heroic souls who took this subject seriously—there are less than fifty during the past five hundred years—either expired in an insane asylum, or in the nick of time concluded that their colleagues and the cooks and the entire public were quite justified in leaving that hopeless language alone. The one and only, gifted with a sense of humor, made the grade. I know of one scholar, an unknown hero who inscribed the title page of his *Apicius* copy printed in Lyons in 1541 (probably after somebody had chided him for wasting time on such nonsense) with "mulcens me, gannis?" Only a perfect language like Latin could say this sentiment in three words.

We are wondering how this curious kitchen language came about. Here is where the importance of the classical languages enters into the picture. It was my good fortune to become early acquainted with Latin and Greek—a fortune for which I am eternally grateful, for, without a smattering of these languages, I probably would have been very miserable indeed. A speaking acquaintance enabled me to go anywhere visiting libraries and museums, do my own exploring, have a lot of fun collecting books and curiosities.

From a linguistic point of view we need consider only three sources—one Greek and one Latin, and one which originated during the Renaissance in Rome. The rest of the vast structure of culinary literature is based upon these three authorities. (At this point in his talk Mr. Vehling introduced six large charts which are here adapted to the printed page.—Ed.)

I

BASES OF FOOD LITERATURE

APICIUS, ca. 50 B.C. to 300 A.D., *De Arte Coquinaria*—"On Cookery." A collection of 499 recipes, some of Greek origin, in 10 "books." Various phases of cookery were treated. Original authors largely unknown.

ATHENAEUS, ca. 220 A.D., *Deipnosophistae*—"Banquet of the Learned." Various articles on food and drink, table habits, conversations, all excerpts from many ancient authors.

PLATINA, 1420-1480 A.D., *De Honesta Voluptate*. Authors were Bartolomeo Sacchi of Piadena (hence "Platina") and Maestro Martino, of Como, a chef. Platina, librarian to the Vatican, used the Ms. of Maestro Martino, chef to the patriarch of Aquileia, as a foundation for his work. He translated all of Martino's work into Latin, added some of his own articles, and published the work at Rome in 1474 under his own name. Ulrich Han was the printer.

Maestro Martino's Ms., entitled *De Arte Coquinaria*, became the basis of the world's first printed book on food, as discovered by J. D. Vehling in 1925. The original Ms. is now in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

II

SAUSAGE

SAL—Latin "salt."

SALSUM—"Salt or pickled meat."

SALSUM CRUDUM—Salt pork, not smoked, but in the raw or pickled state.

CONCISUM—"Chopped" (meat, etc.).

SALSUM CONCISUM—Chopped salt pork, sage meat, and other admixtures.

SAL[sum] [Con]cis[um]—Abbreviation.

SALCIS—Chopped salt meat

SALSITA—Generic term for all kinds of salt food.

SAUCISSE—Old French "sausage."

SAUCISSE—Modern French. "L" dropped which is characteristic.

SAUSAGE—Modern English.

III

SAL—Latin "salt."

SALSA—Brine, salty broth.

SALZA, SAULZA—Old Italian.

SAUCE—Old French "sauce."

SAUCE—Modern French. "L" dropped, which is characteristic in modern Fr. "Sauze" has been universally adopted.

SAUZE, SOWTSE—German pronunciation of "sauce."

SOSE—Phonetic spelling suggested by German purists.

TUNKE—Substitute for "sauce" suggested by German purists.

DUNKING—Americanism adapted from the

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German "Tunke" and "tunken," for steeping and dipping.
ZOPPEN—Low German colloquial for "tunken."
ZUPPA—Italian "Soup."
SOPPA—Swedish "Soup."
SOP—English
 Modern variants for "Sauce," with no relation to the original term (which suggested "salted," "salty"): Apple, Chocolate, Cranberry, Vanilla, etc.

IV

APPROPRIATION BY TRANSLATION

BIANCO MANGIARE—Old Italian, 11th or 12th century. "White Eating," an almond milk jelly.
BLANC MANGER—French translation, 13th century.
BLAMANSIER—German, contemporary adaptation, from the 13th-century French.
BLANC MANGE—English, adapted in the 16th century from the French.
CIBARIUM ALBUM—Translation into Latin by Platina, 1474 A.D. from the Tuscan of Martino.
LEUCORAGO—Graeco-Italian, contemporary translation from Platina's Cibarium Album, 1483 A.D.
 Note how a translation without mention of the source obliterates the original.
 Modern variants of "White Eating" without any relation to the original: Chocolate Blanc Mange, Raspberry Blanc Mange, etc.

OBLITERATION BY TRANSLATION

MACCARONI—Martino, ca. 1450.
ISCIMUM FRUMENTINUM—Platina's translation into Latin, 1470.
EXTUM FRUMENTINO—Italian, 1483, translating Platina back into Italian.

V

Examples of subjects the etymology of which is doubtful, according to standard dictionaries:
MARCI PANIS—Latin, "St. Mark's Bread."
MARZIPAN—German, an almond confection.
MARCI PAN [is]—French version.

MARCHEPAIN—French Version.
MACHPANE—English version.
MARCH PAIN—English version (sounds like the 'flu').

SAUCE ROBERT—French, 15th century; a spicy mustard sauce named after Robert le Diable, legendary character of the Middle Ages. (Scribe and Meyerbeer, 1850.)

ROWBOAT SAUCE—English adaptation, 18th century.

Many modern chefs, named Robert, claim invention of this sauce.

THOURIN—Modern French family name.

TOURING—English version.

FINNAN HADDIE—English corruption of Fendon Haddock.

MYSTERY OF COOKERY—English, 17th century; corruption of Old French *mestier*; modern French *metier*, trade, calling.

BUFFETIER—French, husky attendant of a buffet, guard of honor or ornamental halbardier guarding the silverware (of a buffet).

BEEF EATER—English adaptation of French buffetier.

VI

PUMPERNICKEL

German, a black rye bread of Westphalia.

BON[um] PANICUL[um]

Name given by the city fathers of Paderborn (Westphalia) to a small loaf of rye bread given (as a bonus) to the citizens during the famine years of the Thirty Years War (ca. 1630).

HAMBURGER*

A modern German "Ofella Ostiensis."

OFFELA OSTIENSIS

A classical "Hamburger." Apparently the

* Ed. note: Cf. the use of -burger to indicate a bun sandwich, e.g. "Cheeseburger."

inhabitants of seaboard cities must have been partial to chopped steaks for at least 2,000 years.

GARUM

Latin; a precious essence prepared from the intestines of the fish, *garus*, exposed to the sunlight. This compound was much misunderstood by the scientists of the past.

GARATUM

Sauces or dishes prepared with the precious *garum*. This, being very costly, was often adulterated or omitted entirely. *Garatum*, then, lost its original meaning entirely even in Roman times. It merely developed the meaning of "carefully prepared." It became subject to many different treatments, hence *oenogaratum* (with wine), *hydrogaratum* (with water), *mellogaratum* (with honey), etc.

GAR

Modern German, "done," "ready," "finished."

GARKOCH

German (somewhat obsolete now), a short-order cook, one who prepares quick dishes, not too carefully.

GARGOT

Modern French adaptation of the German *Garkoch*, a hash-slinger, a sloppy cook.

The French contribute their share to the general metamorphosis of words: *Rosbif* (roast beef), *bifteck* (beefsteak), *boque* (bock beer), *milquetost* (milk toast). These are fairly modern. Changes such as *boeuf-beef*, *veau-beal*, *mouton-mutton*, date back to the time of the Norman invasion.

This charming confusion opens the question: "What is language, or speech, anyway?" Speech, we all agree, is a system of sound vibrations originating in the oral cavity with which the human spirit seeks liberation from confines within, endeavoring to express feeling or thoughts. It is only the spirit then, that magic force using the instruments of speech and the system of language, which makes the sound waves worth while listening to.

Of course, as a medium of expression language usually is woefully inadequate, failing us most when we need it most. People who then despair and say that despite our 250,000 well-ordered sounds in the dictionary they cannot find words to express themselves are just plain fine people who tell the truth.

It takes a real poet to manipulate our treasure of words sublimely. And even he cannot say how he does it. But from the sublime to the ridiculous there is but one little step, and that is the reason why our age has practically no poets and why many of our good citizens sneer at the classical languages as something useless.

Then there is that astounding display of verbosity by some people whose language is serving them to blow off surplus steam. This safety valve has found a classical development among the fishwives of Billingsgate, and some of us benedicts are keenly aware of its efficiency.

Then, there is that amazing versatility of language creating many different expressions for the same thing, a multiplication of effort as it were. The oftener a certain thing or situation occurs in our daily lives, the more words we will have for it. Think of the variety of names we have for currency—money, matsuma, jack, dough, and what not! Somebody compiled a list of 150 different Americanisms for the plain everyday condition of being intoxicated.

And then we have among our citizens a great group of people—indeed an ever-increasing number—who use the language as a convenient medium to conceal their thoughts, whatever such thoughts may be. The more they have to hide the more artful becomes the language they employ. These are the vast tribes of high-powered salesmen, the sloganists, the phraseologists, ideologists, publicists, propagandists, diplomats—an ancient unholy crew with new names and new aims, that have, with their subtle way of handling words, backed off the map those picturesque soap box orators and circus barkers of the good old days.

My friends, when I contemplate such linguistic acrobats, I learn to admire the

dumb animals that manage to get along quite well without any vocabulary whatsoever.

When I look at this depraved age of ours and the degradation of the human animal which takes this misery lying down and liking it, I find some consolation in the contemplation of that magnificent structure, the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*—a document of human dignity and human greatness and one of everlasting beauty, and I salute you people as the custodians of so great a treasure. Keep up the good work!

I thank you!

Ed. note. This article on Roman cookery was presented by the author at a luncheon meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at Milwaukee April 2, 1948. Mr. Vehling is the caterer at the Hotel Pfister, where the meeting was held. We asked him to supply some facts about his life, and he obligingly produced the following autobiography, which we hope our readers may enjoy for its intrinsic interest. We think it is an appetizing side dish to accompany a hearty main course.

I was born at Dülken, an old town near Venlo, Holland, on the German-Dutch border. The folly (not worse than anywhere else) of its substantial, sturdy, slow citizens is somehow proverbial. My perennial intention to exploit literarily Dülken's rich chronicle of human behavior never gets beyond the budding stage.

The paternal branch of my family hails from the German Netherlands. Hence, perhaps my preference for the Rembrandts, van Steens, Jordaens, Netschers, Brouwers, and the liqueur, the cheese, and other dairy products of that flat region. Some maternal members were French émigrés, refugees of the revolution. One of them, an officer under Napoleon, was rewarded for saving the emperor from some icy Russian pool. Hence, probably, a steady admiration among the family for the Corsican, a sentiment which I never shared, however.

I attended public school, Realgymnasium. But most gratifying and beneficial were private tutors—parish priests and other teachers. The humanistic leaning of these fine men made a lasting impression. It was fine guidance in a worthy (though impractical) direction, and I am deeply grateful and indebted to them.

Roaming in the kitchens, breweries, food shops

of relatives, I gathered in the techniques and amenities of food and drink. Because of this predilection and this pardonable greediness it was decided that I should follow in the old footsteps. Hence a full-fledged apprenticeship in the various branches of gastronomy.

This trade, I found, was well suited for the avoidance of life's most miserable problems. Besides, it is a fine vehicle to take in much territory and much of civilization's sundry details. Very soon I traveled in various Northern European directions. In London, where I went to learn English, I gathered more in six months by browsing in the British Museum among my favorite subjects than I would have acquired in twelve university semesters.

Artist's Life

I HAD the bad habit of startling good people with unexpected outlandish propositions. From London I went to Düsseldorf. My plans to study painting violently disturbed the serenity of my good family and also astonished the ponderous, bearded Düsseldorfer academicians, who inspected my "ultra-modern" daubings with scorn and smiles. In fine, their very good advice was: "So you want to be a painter, eh? Boy, do you realize: YOU EAT?"

Not to be discouraged by some old art fogies however famous, I went straight to Vienna to join the then up-and-coming Secessionists. To be sure, I had to eat, and of course I did eat well, in the approved and accustomed style, as assistant manager at the Hotel Bristol, one of the world's snootiest hostleries, paying for my keep in labor. My duties, thank goodness, left me no leisure for competition with seasoned and famished Secessionists. However, at night I hobnobbed with some of them at the Vienna Kaffeehaus (that incomparable and most ideal of public places), paid for their lunch as a matter of course, and soon decided that the whole lot, with very few exceptions, was negligible.

Simultaneously I met many more or less interesting littérateurs—ephemeral big shots and their satellites—also plenty of Burgtheater folk, Theater-an-der-Wien habitués, composers, librettists, among them Lehar, who gave me free tickets to the premières with the injunction to recommend their productions to the Bristol crowds. I met some real musicians, too, dead and alive; made pilgrimages to the Vienna Friedhof where there is buried in one small hallowed spot more musical genius than this whole world will produce during the next thousand years.

I played chess with some kindred spirits in the Kaffeehaus til daybreak, indulging in orgies of Mé lange and Viennese pastry (that surest of all yardsticks for the measurement of culture and intelligence) until the deferential waiter reminded "Herr Doktor von Vehling" of the approaching new dawn. When the waiter got a good tip, I was usually promoted to "Herr Graf von Vehling" or maybe to "Euer Exzellenz" or something else. These Viennese had a facile way of enabling everybody and everything that was at once ludicrous and irresistible.

Contemptus Aulae, Contemptus Mundi

AT THE BRISTOL (and in many other international places) I met and talked with most of the rich, most of the famous people, most of the diplomats, crowned heads, international schemers of the past generations. Looking at the parades on the Ringstrasse and then at our uncollectable accounts, a vague premonition of the impending Götterdämmerung seized me, and I became restive. Anyway, I became definitely immune to any incipient craving for either fame, fortune, or politics.

The only time I regretted being broke (that condition became chronic because of my reckless buying and travels) was when some wily bookseller or antiquarian would tempt me with some rare and choice item. Thanks to my permanent penury I was definitely restricted to collecting items pertaining to my own métier (specialized collections are worth while) and a modest collection of prints and books can grow and grow when one has discovered a virgin jungle rich in linguistic, economic, historical and human interest.

Apicius, author of *Da Re Coquinaria*, was practically unknown to the public. I decided to translate the old Roman cook in a hurry. After years of fiddling I realized that Apicius was worthy of a regular exhaustive research. Playing with the Classics, I stumbled into the Renaissance, found that Platina, supposed author of *De Honesta Voluptate* (the world's first printed food book) had used a cook's manuscript for his publication. Indeed, I found the precious manuscript itself, enabling me to make comparisons, and thus, Martino, obscure papal chef, was rescued from oblivion and dragged into modern life.*

There followed many journeys to the capitals of Europe, museums, libraries, antiquarian shops, many trips on the highways and byways of

* Mr. Vehling is the author of *Apicius, Cookery and Dining in Ancient Rome*, and *Platina* (Ed. note).

many countries, little rest, little accomplished works but resulting in a lot of fun and many acquaintances with nice people. A wealthy American couple "sold" me on America. I came over with them "on a bet." They were familiar with the early history of this country, and I got a fine start. I liked the country, became a citizen

Scholar, Cook, Reformer

I TOOK IN some summer courses at Columbia. Later lectured for four semesters at Cornell on the history of food and domestic science, worked in many different hostelleries, wrote on food, edited publications (rather futile, it seemed, for the people I wanted to reach do not read or do not digest their reading), spent a few years with commercial art work (rather monotonous and uninteresting), and now I am specializing again in food preparation—not so much in the innovation of epicurean creations (that endeavor was exhausted long ago) but in a much harder task, that of making commercial cookery pay.

Many years ago I startled my hotel friends with a paper advocating shorter working hours and the abolition of tipping. That created a consummate minor rumpus, miniature but perfect, complete in its every detail, as bona fide revolutions go. When my funds and advice gave out, I withdrew with a mixed taste in my mouth and a mixed experience in labor problems. The hotel fraternity, furious at first, took the matter as reasonable men would. The shorter working hours were eventually put into effect; tipping, that Oriental itching virus (as I call it) stayed. I analyzed this curious thing, scrutinized, distilled, filtered it as a medic would eye a vicious bug.

I found a whole tribe of tips flourishing under many names and in numerous categories in many countries and during all ages, as "Trinkgeld," "pourboire," "mancia," "drickspengar," "bakhish," "tooth money," etc. etc. Curiously, the tip's respectability grows with its size. Simultaneously it acquires more complex names: "commission," "bonus," "honorarium," "offering," "lend-lease" and what have you, and even in the old days any ass with a good tip on its back could open the gates of the most formidable fortress. Confronted with such a formidable ancestry and kinship, my puny little tip, ("T.I.P.—To Insure Promptness") meekly went back, back to its time-honored corner in that curious state that we call civilization. Europe, however, was quick to utilize my idea to make that compromise known as ten percent on the bill.

LANX SATURA

Quidquid agunt homines,
votum timor ira voluptas
gaudia discursus, nostri
farrago libelli est.

Wayny, Weedy, Weekly?

AS INTERMEDIARIES between the younger sections of the public and what we call Latin and the Classics, we are likely to think that our conception of Latin and the Classics represents Latin and the Classics as they really are; and that within the limits of the time at our disposal and our ability as interpreters we are bringing our students into contact with certain facts or a certain aspect or fragment of reality. Yet facts and reality are evasive things; and history shows clearly how many concepts of reality man has adopted, and how many different approaches to it he has invented, in the long course of his intellectual experience. A study of the history of the teaching of Latin and the Classics will bear out this observation: what we regard today as fixed practice and tradition were not, for example, the practice and tradition of sixteenth-century England when the new Ciceronian humanism was following in the path marked out by Erasmus and Colet.

We are therefore not obliged to assume that what we regard as Latin and the Classics are actually Latin and the Classics, or that our approaches to them are the right ones or the final ones. For one thing, it can easily be shown that our concept of the Classics today is largely under the influence of nineteenth-century romanticism, and that we are not trying to find in the Classics or getting out of them what the major intellectual movements of the eighteenth or seventeenth centuries, or the early Renaissance, or the Middle Ages, got out of them. It can also be shown that our approach to Latin and the Classics in the classroom, as opposed to our general concept, is under the influence of positivism, another approach to facts and reality developed in, and inherited from, the nineteenth century.

By "positivism" we mean here what is called more popularly the "scientific method"

or "research scholarship." Like romanticism, it sets up the goal of reality or truth or "the facts"; but where the romantic individual feels or appreciates the truth sentimentally, emotionally, or aesthetically, the scholar engages in the active "pursuit" of truth by methods of research involving meticulous attention to detail, by getting at the "facts"—the more minute, the better; and he is convinced that truth or reality lies in the accumulation and verification of such minutiae. It would be both fascinating and profitable to explore the whole story of how both positivism and romanticism have left their mark upon American education; here, within reasonable limits of space, we may confine ourselves to an illustration of the particular effects of positivism upon classroom Latin teaching.*

The nineteenth century was a period of amazing discoveries in science, and one of the most amazing was the discovery and formulation of laws of language which showed that Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Old Persian, Celtic, and the Germanic and Slavic languages (to mention the major groups) were all members of a related family, so to speak. Equally amazing was the realization that the relationship of these languages could be demonstrated on the basis of certain laws or principles; and that from the historical point of view these laws or principles produced predictable results. One of the by-products of this new science of comparative philology, or, as we now call it, linguistics, was the reconstruction, according to scientific laws, of how the Romans actually pronounced Latin.

We can scarcely recapture—those of us

* We do not mean to imply that the Classics are the only area of study which show the dual and complementary influences of positivism and romanticism. Our remarks apply with equal force, for example, to the field of Sociology, which is one of the distinctive contributions of the nineteenth century to organized learning.

who have grown up in the twentieth century—the enthusiasm that greeted this new discovery: to be able to say Latin words as Cicero said them! Nor can we recapture the driving energy and faith of those who brought the methods of positivistic scholarship to this country from Germany in the 1880's and 1890's. In a very brief time the graduate school became an established institution. Positivism was almost a religion; and like a religion, it engendered its peculiar forms of intolerance. To be unscholarly, to be unscientific, was to be treated with scorn. These attitudes quickly made their way down into the secondary level of teaching and brought with them the scientific way of pronouncing Latin. Consequently, in the 1890's, the great shift from the traditional English way of pronouncing Latin to the scientific or Roman way took place. Up to that time, of course, Latin was pronounced in England and America the way lawyers still pronounce it. We have little recollection today of the commotion that the new method of pronunciation created; it met strong resistance; it was ridiculed even in the British House of Commons; but there was back of it the tremendous prestige of science as a whole; and science won. . . . Or was it romanticism that won? Was there not something thrilling and romantic in being able to pronounce Latin the way Catullus and Vergil might have pronounced it?

So well trained are we in the acceptance of whatever bears the label of science and scholarship that it scarcely occurs to us to ask whether the modern student with the scientific pronunciation is getting any more out of the Classics than the unenlightened sixteenth-century student who pronounced Latin as a sort of dialect of English. One would have difficulty in arguing that Catholic-trained students and scholars, who do not use the scientific pronunciation, are the poorer for their non-conformity. The present writer might add that he has had one student who got out of Latin and the Classics a great deal more than most of his fellow students, but the poor fellow could not pronounce any language according to any system: he was tongue-tied.

Actually, it has been seriously suggested that the change from the traditional to the scientific pronunciation was one of the worst mistakes Latin teachers ever made. The late A. Lawrence Lowell, one-time president of Harvard University, suggested in the *Atlantic Monthly* some years ago that the shift to the new pronunciation merely had the effect of turning Latin into a completely foreign language, making the derivative relationships much more obscure and alienating those who had previously studied Latin and loved it for its content and expression. This, Mr. Lowell suggested, effected a well-nigh lethal break in the continuity of the Latin-educated public. It was hard to think of good old Tully as *Kikero*; and *wayny weedy weky* seemed altogether silly. (One recalls that Mr. Chips never became reconciled to the new-fangled pronunciation.) In addition, Mr. Lowell pointed out, the new lingo tended to create a rift between Latinists and lawyers, friends whom Latin teachers could ill-afford to lose.

That, of course, is a dead issue now; Mr. Lowell manifestly ignored other factors in the general situation affecting Latin teaching, and over-stated his case. But we have reviewed the issue here because we believe that it is worth recalling that the victories of science are sometimes of the Pyrrhic variety. Or do we need to be reminded of this in the middle of the twentieth century?

CONGRATULATIONS

PROFESSOR JOTHAM JOHNSON has been appointed chairman of the classics department of New York University's Washington Square College of Arts and Science, Dean Thomas Clark Pollock has announced.

Professor Johnson will succeed Professor Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., who organized the department when the College was established in 1918. Professor Kraemer will devote his time to the study and publication of ancient papyrus documents found in 1936 at Nessana, Palestine.

Professor Johnson is the editor of *Archaeology*, editor of *Archaeological Newsletter*, archaeological editor of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* and an authority on primitive time-reckoning. He has written several books and numerous articles on excavations in which he took part.

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Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

AESCHYLUS AND HEINE

MATTHEW ARNOLD begins his essay on Heinrich Heine¹ by translating a confessional passage from the German poet's *Reisebilder*:

I know not if I deserve that a laurel-wreath should one day be laid on my coffin. Poetry, dearly as I have loved it, has always been to me but a divine plaything. I have never attached any great value to poetical fame; and I trouble myself very little whether people praise my verses or blame them. But lay on my coffin a sword; for I was a brave soldier in the war of liberation of humanity.

This ringing disavowal of poetic fame by one for whom posterity, nevertheless, as Arnold says, "will certainly decorate his tomb with the emblem of the laurel rather than with the emblem of the sword," is spiritually akin to the words of another great poet and likewise a soldier in a war of liberation, fought twenty-three centuries earlier. With his memory, too, the civilized world will quite properly persist in associating the emblem of the laurel rather than that of the sword. Yet the two couplets² which the poet Aeschylus, according to Athenaeus, composed for his own epitaph proclaim briefly and revealingly the contrary:

Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, an Athenian,

lies beneath this stone, dead in the wheat-bearing land of Gela. Of his approved valor the grove of Marathon can speak and the long-haired Mede who knows it well.

Not a word here about those immortal tragedies whose sublimity ranks them among the greatest literary creations of all time. For Aeschylus, in his final testimony, poetry is not even acclaimed a "divine plaything." Herein lies a notable difference between these two assertions, the modern and the ancient, which otherwise are so much alike: the first delivers its message with direct and complete explicitness, the meaning of the other, in contrast, is eloquently implicit. In these few verses of Aeschylus we have a poignant (one might say laconic) example of the quality of restraint which not only characterizes the best of the Greek epigrams but is the essence of the Hellenic spirit.

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¹ Published in *Cornhill Magazine* for August 1863 and later included in *Essays on Criticism*, vol. 1.

² Preserved in the ancient *Vita Aeschi*; cf. E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, 1, p. 66, and *The Oxford Book of Greek Verse*, No. 269.

A MINOR TYPE OF OPPOSITION TO TIBERIUS

IT IS ILLUMINATING to try to follow the various forms which the opposition took to express its views under the Empire. Since the Romans were always so conscious of the precedents of their ancestors, and because the technique of literary and historical allusion was so thoroughly established,¹ no surprise need be occasioned by the fact that opposition to imperial policies could be signified by reference to historical facts. The commonest

aspect of this type of opposition was the praise of Cassius, Brutus, and Cato, but there were other subtler aspects, which deserve brief comment.

A conspicuous example of opposition by historical reference occurred at the meeting of the senate at which was discussed the question of Tiberius' assumption of the principate (*Tac. Ann. 1.13*). Haterius said, apparently with full awareness of the insulting

quality of his remark, "Quo usque patieris, Caesar, non adesse caput rei publicae?" Not only was the sentiment full of cynical contumely, but the choice of words had a Ciceronian ring and seemed to put Tiberius in the condition of being a Catiline.² Tiberius was so deeply offended that he delivered a rebuke at once;³ and Haterius felt compelled to go to the palace not only to make a formal apology but even to throw himself at Tiberius' knees as a suppliant. He had the misfortune to trip the emperor up⁴ and was nearly killed by the guards before they realized that it was not an attempted assassination. Even so, the unlucky man won pardon only through the strenuous efforts of Livia. It may be said that, without further evidence, such an interpretation of Haterius' remark is extreme; but *quo usque*, according to Gerber and Greef, is used on only one other occasion by Tacitus, when in *Annals* 1.28 the centurion Clemens and others were trying to pacify the rebellious Pannonian troops: "Quo usque filium imperatoris obsidebimus?" And the latter passage lacks the Ciceronian sound.

The following example, however, will show that Tacitus, if not Haterius, had the Ciceronian precedent in mind. In *Annals* 2.34 we have an interesting example of opposition which is normally cited without serious comment: "Inter quae L. Piso ambitus fori, corrupta iudicia, saevitiam oratorum accusations minitantium increpans, abire se et cedere urbe, victurum in aliquo abdito et longinquu rure testabatur; simul curiam relinquebat. Commotus est Tiberius, et quamquam mitibus verbis Pisonem permulsi-set, propinquos quoque eius impulit ut abeuntem auctoritate vel precibus tenerent"; and the same remark is mentioned again in 4.21: "Actum dehinc de Calpurnio Pisone, nobili ac feroci viro. Is namque, ut rettuli, cessurum se urbe ob factiones accusatorum in senatu clamitaverat . . ." The point to Piso's outcry becomes clear if we look at Cicero *Philipic* 12.14 (cp. §15): "L. Pisonis, amplissimi viri, praeclaras vox a te non solum in hoc ordine, Pansa, sed etiam in contione iure laudata est. Excessurum se ex Italia dixit, deos penatis et sedes patrias relicturum, si—

quod di omen averterint!—rem publicam op pressisset Antonius." We may thus discern why Tiberius was so disturbed by Piso's threat to leave Rome. His statement was probably meant to recall the statement of the earlier Piso, and thus to suggest that Tiberius was no better than a Mark Antony, just as Haterius' remark had implied that Tiberius was another Catiline.

We might be led to think that we have here an example of family policy, as in the case of Asinius Pollio and his son Asinius Gallus, both of whom, while enjoying imperial favor, were noted for their independent spirit. In 43 Pollio had written to Cicero (*Ad fam.* 10.31.3) that he, after having experienced one dictatorship would choose to fight in preference to enduring another. Even under the principate he was bold in his remarks⁵ and Gallus' freedom of speech was regarded as an imitation of his father's attitude (*patris ferociam*).⁶

The gens Calpurnia is complicated enough to render identification of its members difficult, but these two Pisones were not related, so far as the handbooks know, certainly not in the direct line. The one in the time of Tiberius evidently was the brother of the Piso who was later suspected of the murder of Germanicus and who was supposed to have inherited something of his father's character (Tac. *Ann.* 2.43): ". . . insita ferocia a patre Pisone, qui civili bello resurgentis in Africa partis acerrimo ministerio adversus Caesarem iuvit, mox Brutum et Cassium secutus concesso redditu petitione honorum abstinuit, donec ultro ambiretur delatum ab Augusto consulatum accipere." Hence it may be assumed that there was a tradition in this branch of the family of withdrawal from public affairs to display disapproval of the state of the government. An indication of the temper of the family may be derived from the fact that this Piso, who was associated with Augustus, was probably the son of the Piso who was involved in the first Catilinarian conspiracy and was murdered in Spain in 64.

The Piso mentioned by Cicero was his quondam enemy, consul in 58, who was so reviled in the *In Pisonem*.⁷ Because of him we

might think that this type of opposition was Epicurean, but such was probably not the case. There were Epicureans both among the Liberators and among Caesar's true friends, and after Caesar's death the Epicureans did not adopt any definite party line.⁸ The idea of withdrawal from public affairs was a pernicious one in the Ciceronian period, and one for which Epicureanism cannot be exclusively blamed. Good examples were the *piscinarii*,⁹ to whom Cicero so caustically alluded because they shirked public duties. The idea of retirement to a wilderness was expressed by Cicero in 49, although perhaps not seriously,¹⁰ and he spoke of indifference to political affairs with some respect in *De Officiis* 1.20.69f. Other contemporary examples, for whom we have contemporary evidence, were Servius Sulpicius, who in 49 told Cicero that he would go into exile if the exiles were restored (*Ad Att.* 10.14.1 & 3); Marcus Marcellus, who had really preferred to live in exile rather than to accept pardon from Caesar; and even Brutus, who in 43 wrote Cicero that he would live far from Rome rather than be a suppliant to Octavian (*Ad. Brut.* 1.16.8). It will be observed that we are more concerned with what men said than with their deeds, for words are the medium of political life.

From withdrawal from public affairs there is only a step to the *taedium vitae* which urges men to depart from life permanently, a Roman idea which found especial favor in the first century of the Empire.¹¹ Tiberius, in connection with the wanton suicide of Cocceius Nerva, expressed some of the thoughts which must have come into his mind when Piso threatened to leave the city; and Tacitus' obvious sympathy with Nerva's deed indicates that he believed Nerva was conducting himself like a Roman of the old school: "Haud multo post Cocceius Nerva, continuus principi, omnis divini humanique iuris sciens, integro statu, corpore inlaeso, moriendi consilium cepit. Quod ut Tiberio cognitum, ad sidere, causas requirere, addere preces; fateri postremo grave conscientiae, grave famae sue, si proximus amicorum nullis moriendo rationibus vitam fugeret. Aversatus sermonem Nerva abstinentiam cibi coniunxit.

Ferebant gnari cogitationum eius, quanto propius mala rei publicae viseret, ira et metu, dum integer, dum intemperatus, honestum finem voluisse."¹² The same sentiment was expressed by Arruntius,¹³ who, although Tiberius' imminent death was expected to release him from the danger of a pending trial, committed suicide because he did not expect the condition of the government to improve under Caligula.

The idea of withdrawal from public affairs¹⁴ was, then, Roman rather than strictly Epicurean or Stoic, although the Stoics were apt to be more spectacular in their demise. It was no accident that Tacitus in *Annals* 16.18-35 juxtaposed his accounts of the death of Petronius and of the deaths of Barea Soranus and Thrasea Paetus—Petronius' behavior was Epicurean,¹⁵ Thrasea's and Soranus' was Stoic. Some details in the narrative about Thrasea show how confused the ethical issue had become by the time of Nero. Thrasea's accuser, Cossutianus Capito, was incensed because Thrasea had stayed away from the senate for three years, and he stated: "Secessionem iam id et partes et, si idem multi audeant, bellum esse."¹⁶ Thrasea's attitude seems contrary to normal Stoic ethical doctrine, for usually the Stoics advocated participation in public life. The whole passage is still more interesting as a criterion for estimating how successful this form of opposition was.¹⁷ There is, however, a noteworthy difference between the conduct of Thrasea and the threat of Piso to Tiberius, for Thrasea was charged with acting treasonably in this respect, whereas Piso's plan of voluntary exile gathered its force from its historical implications.

It is not pertinent here to attempt a discussion of the politics of the Piso who was consul in 58. In general, while he was willing to go to great lengths in behalf of first Caesar and later Mark Antony, Piso seems to have been opposed to tyranny. The remark quoted in *Philippic* 12.14 was apparently made at the meeting of the senate on August 1, 44.¹⁸ At the time of the Twelfth Philippic, however, Piso's conciliatory attitude was aiding the Antonian cause. It is characteristic of the

futility of the opposition under the Empire that the Tiberian Piso was imitating a striking remark of the earlier Piso rather than any real political creed. The theme of withdrawal probably was popular in the schools of rhetoric, for the pseudo-Ciceronian *Letter to Octavian* (2.10) represents Cicero as threatening to leave Rome and to commit suicide.

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NOTES

¹ G. Boissier, *L'opposition sous les Césars* (Paris 1873) 84-94; H. W. Litchfield, "National Exempla Virtutis in Roman Literature," *HSCP* 25 (1914) 1-71; J. Vogt, *Ciceron's Glaube an Rom* (*Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft* 6, Stuttgart, 1935) 6-16.

² The Ciceronian lexica show how much Cicero favored the use of *quo usque*. *Pro Plancio* 75 demonstrates the notoriety it attained in his lifetime; also Clodius' taunt to Cicero in *Ad Att.* 1.16.10: "Quousque... hunc regem feremus?"

³ Tac. *Ann.* 1.13: "In Haterium statim invectus est." Cp. *Suet. Tib.* 29.

⁴ A slightly different version of the mishap is given in *Suet. Tib.* 27, where Haterius, although not named, is probably meant. In Tac. *Ann.* 3.57, if a textual emendation is correct, it is this Haterius who was conspicuously servile; Tac. *Ann.* 4.61 describes his talents as an orator.

⁵ Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939) 320, 482, 512.

⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 1.12; Dio Cassius 57.2.5.

⁷ For the evidently Epicurean temperament of the son (cos. 15 B.C.) of the consul of 58, see Vell. Pat. 2.98; Seneca *Ep.* 83.14; Tac. *Ann.* 6.10.

⁸ T. Frank, *Vergil* (New York, 1922) 77-89; T. S. Jerome, *Aspects of the Study of Roman History* (New York and London, 1923) 230-254; N. W. DeWitt, "Notes on the History of Epicureanism," *TAPA* 63 (1932) 166-176; P. H. DeLacy, "Cicero's Invective against Piso," *TAPA* 72 (1941) 49-58; N. W. DeWitt, "Roman Epicureanism," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 39 (1945) (Third Series, Section ii) 31-44. All these authorities discuss the extent and popularity of Epicureanism in Rome in the first century before Christ, with emphasis on the Piso who was consul in 58. Cp. also the comments on Epicureans in politics by A. Momigliano in a review in *JRS* 31 (1941) 151-157.

⁹ Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.19.6, 1.20.3, 2.1.7; cp. M. Piso in *Cic. Brut.* 67.236.

¹⁰ *Ad Att.* 9.4, 10.9, *Ad fam.* 2.16. It is also to be remembered that he actually started to leave Italy in the summer of 44, with the intention of returning late that year in expectation of a political change in January 43.

There is a valuable essay on Cicero's attitudes in this respect: E. de Saint-Denis, "La théorie ciceronienne de la participation aux affaires publiques," *Rev. de philol.* 12 (3^e ser.) (1938) 193-215.

¹¹ W. E. H. Lecky, *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne* (New York, 1877) 1.212-223; Rudolf Hirzel, "Der Selbstmord," *ARW* 11 (1908) 433-468; E. V. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (Cambridge, 1911) 392-401.

¹² Ann. 6.26; cp. Dio Cassius 58.21.4-5. According to Furneaux on *Ann.* 4.21, there is a possibility that L. Piso died a suicide.

¹³ Tac. *Ann.* 6.48; cp. Dio Cassius 58.27.4.

¹⁴ What Boissier subtitles "La politique d'abstention": G. Boissier, *op. cit.* (see note 1) 106-108. Plutarch's life of Cato probably mirrors much of the doctrine of the opposition under the Empire, and it is noteworthy that in 66.3 of that work Cato admonished his son not to engage in politics under a tyrant.

¹⁵ Professor Norman W. DeWitt has kindly called my attention to the fact that Petronius' cavalier conduct toward Nero, as well as his causal death, are signaled by Epicurean overtones: cp. Gilbert Highet, "Petronius the Moralist," *TAPA* 72 (1941) 176-194.

¹⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 16.21, f. Apparently Thræsa too had threatened to retire from Rome (*Ann.* 16.28): "... et qui foras theatra templo pro solitudine habebat, qui minitaretur exilium suum . . ." DeWitt, in his article in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (see note 8), makes exceptionally acute observations on the syncretism of Stoic and Epicurean ethics. For a convincing analysis of the true nature of the "philosophic opposition," which evidently became more Cynic than Stoic in the second half of the first century after Christ, see Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, "Dictators and Philosophers in the First century A.D.," *Greece & Rome* 11 (1944) 43-58; cp. D. R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism* (London, 1937) Chapter 8.

¹⁷ In *Annals* 6.27 Tacitus records with pleasure Tiburius' lack of willing and competent personnel: "Exim Flacco Pomponio Syriae pro praetore defuncto recitator Caesaris litterae, quis incusabat egregium quemque et regendis exercitibus idoneum abnuerit id munus sequitur necessitudine ad preces cogi, per quas consularium aliqui capessere provincias adigerentur, oblitus Aruntium, ne in Hispaniam pergeret, decimum iam annum attineret." In the reign of Domitian, one of the reasons for the condemnation of Herennius Senecio was his lack of political ambition: Dio Cassius 67.13.2.

¹⁸ Tyrrell and Purser, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero* V² (Dublin and London, 1915) lxxvii-lxxxix; H. Frisch, *Cicero's Fight for the Republic* (Copenhagen, 1946) 117, note 105. There is a discussion of Piso's politics in Appendix I in the edition of Cicero's *De provinciis consularibus* by H. E. Butler and M. Cary (Oxford, 1924). Anyone interested in the matter of the opposition under the Empire, moreover, should not neglect the unpublished Yale dissertation (1932) by Elizabeth Bunting (Mrs. J. V. Fine), *The Stoic Opposition to the Principate as Seen in Tacitus*.

THE ETHICS OF THE ROMAN BAR

COMMENTING UPON the inadequacy of Tacitus's portraits of the Roman emperors, a recent biographer of Claudius puts the blame in good measure on rhetorical training, which, he asserts, fitted every man into a type.¹ We run the same danger today in our thinking about the Romans. Just as the Greek spirit tends to be identified with qualities like the freshness of youth, love of freedom, intellectual curiosity, self-analysis, and an equation of the good to the beautiful, so Roman character becomes generically associated with unwavering devotion to principle, rigidity of temper, resistance to innovation, patriotism, belief in order, legalism, and above all, *gravitas*. Latin authors have indeed contributed greatly to the widespread acceptance of the stereotype, but they usually ascribed these virtues not to the Romans of their own day, but to their forbears; later writers have been less discerning.

Add to this mythical character the traditional reverence for our legacy of Roman law, and the basis is laid for a warped conception of the Roman courts. Hence even if reason assents to the objective evidence, emotions will be outraged at any suggestion that justice in antiquity fell far short of present-day standards. We have read, of course, about the struggles between senators and knights to dominate the courts as an instrument of partisan politics, about the bribery of jurors at the trial of Clodius, about the intimidation of the defence when Milo was indicted, about the abortive efforts of provincials to win a verdict against extortionate governors, about the appeals to class and race prejudice indulged even by Cicero, and about the attempts to sway juries by wearing mourning dress and going unshaven—yet we remain as irrationally disinclined to take the criticisms to heart as we should be to heed censure of our own Supreme Court. To combat such preconceptions one can hardly do better than the author of a CLASSICAL JOURNAL article on the *De Oratore*, who makes Cicero himself a witness to the sorry nature of the "practical" Roman attitude toward the law.

The orator's advice, given through Antonius, is to work upon the jurors' sensibilities, to treat persuasion as paramount, moral questions as irrelevant, and to convince by a histrionic counterfeiting of emotions.²

Yet this counsel is phrased so impersonally that it fails to make the impact on the reader which is produced by Quintilian's very similar advice. How such emotional appeals should be handled is very concretely stated at the beginning of the sixth book of his *Institutio Oratoria*. We can rouse tears not only by words, but by actions, says Quintilian; accordingly as defence lawyers we should bring on clients *squalidos et deformes*, along with their children and parents, as prosecutors, display a gory sword, pieces of bone extracted from wounds, or blood-stained garments, and cause wounds to be unbound or the marks of lashes to be bared (6.1.30). Again, entreaty is often effective, especially if the plea is made *per carissima pignora*; to such let any defendant resort who has children, spouse, or parents. Calling upon the gods seems usually to spring from a clear conscience; lying prostrate and clasping the knees of those from whom acquittal is sought may prove beneficial to all save defendants whose distinction or past manner of life debar them from such an appeal (6.1.33-34).

It may readily be gathered that clients were expected to conform their behavior to the lawyer's cue, for Quintilian speaks of the ridicule provoked when they remained expressionless or slumped in their seats during a brilliant tirade, or when they spoiled the effect by some ludicrous act or look, *praecipue vero cum aliqua velut scaenice fuit* (6.1.37-38). The pleader, too, must be on guard, against a wary adversary; Quintilian speaks with relish of having ruined the scheme of a *patronus* who carried a little girl to the opposite bench in order to leave her in the arms of her alleged brother, only to find that Quintilian's client, forewarned, had left the courtroom (6.1.39). The lawyer should rehearse his assistants as well, lest such a misunderstanding arise as occurred when a defendant was to be con-

fronted, during the peroration only, with her husband's picture; it was prematurely and repeatedly displayed as often as the prosecutor glanced in the direction of those holding it (6.1.40). In all these maneuvers close attention is to be paid to the jurors' reactions, for the pleader should press whatever approach wins favor, while withdrawing inconspicuously from any badly chosen line of persuasion. His technique must be that of the physician: *Faciunt hoc medici quoque, ut remedia proinde perseverent adhibere vel desinant, ut illa recipi vel respici vident* (6.4.19).

The employment of such appeals to sympathy and emotions in behalf even of guilty defendants is justified, or at least palliated, by many historians, including Niebuhr, who argue that in the *quaestiones perpetuae* the judges had taken the place of the sovereign people, with full power to pardon as well as acquit, that there was no separate executive branch which could remit a sentence, and that the verdict therefore often represented not a discharge of the prisoner on the evidence but an exemption from penalties in spite of his recognized guilt.³

But when the Roman Empire's foremost teacher of eloquence elevates these meretricious skills into oratory's crowning achievement, it is hardly possible to avoid a sense of shock. How whole-heartedly he approves of "making the worse appear the better reason" may be seen from the following rough translation:

Arguments of course, generally have their origin in the case, and are always more abundant on the stronger side. Consequently whoever prevails thereby knows only that his advocate has not failed him. But you must bring force to bear on the spirits of the jurors and actually lead their minds away from perception of the truth; therein lies the orator's true function. This is a thing about which no litigant can instruct you and which cannot be found in any brief. Plainly indeed proofs can make the jurors regard our case as better, but rousing their emotions guarantees that they shall wish it so, and what they wish to believe, they do believe. For when they have begun to feel anger, favor, hatred, or sympathy, they consider their own interests involved, and just as lovers cannot judge of beauty because their

feelings overmaster their visual sense, so a juror gripped by emotion abandons all systematic inquiry after truth, and is swept along as by the tide or yields himself as to the swift current of a river. Thus the effect of evidence and witnesses is revealed only by the verdict, but the juror who has been stirred by a pleader confesses his feelings even while he sits and listens. Or when he is beset by multiplied perorations and bursts into tears, is not his judgment openly declared? So let the pleader bend his energies to this; this is his function, this his task, without which all else is bare, lean, feeble, and graceless—to such an extent, if I may say so, does the breath and soul of his profession reside in the emotions (6.2.4).

It might still be cynically argued that lawyers have seldom let scruples about their clients' innocence deter them from taking cases, or, having taken them, from using every resource to win a verdict. Quintilian's discussion of witnesses ought, however, to set at rest any doubts that judicial ethics have made notable progress since his day. Voluntary witnesses for the defence, he indicates, are to be carefully coached at home on the sort of questions which the opposition may put to them in court and on the answers which they should make (5.7.11). Twice he warns that the lawyer must beware of turncoats bribed by the other side who promise to say one thing and then before the jury say another (5.7.12 and 32); in the second passage he shows that such witnesses may actually assail the defendant whom they are ostensibly supporting, or more insidiously appear to aim at helping him by their testimony, yet by extravagant and intemperate statements discredit not only themselves but others whose evidence had been believed. As for voluntary witnesses who are to appear for the prosecution, there is no hint that they may be inspired by honorable motives, such as a desire to see justice done, moral scruples regarding the defendant's conduct, or patriotism; rather their readiness to testify is attributed to enmity toward the accused, and the prosecutor is advised to make certain that that enmity is real, that it still exists, and that the witness does not intend to effect a reconciliation by changing his attitude at the trial, and that he has not taken a bribe or repented before the

case is called. I shall conclude with Quintilian's own words, which are a most eloquent, even if unconscious, indictment of the Roman bar's integrity:

Quod cum in iis quoque, qui ea, quae dicturientur, re vera sciunt, necessarium est praecavere; multo magis in iis, qui se dicturos, quae falsa sunt, pollicentur (5. 7. 13).

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O. HENRY AND THE CLASSICS—II

IN ADDITION to its contribution along humorous lines,¹ the classical allusion is employed by O. Henry with serious and often significant intent. The 375 serious allusions in his short stories vary from the obvious and casual to references which assume a rather advanced classical knowledge for full comprehension. The average reader may have no difficulty with Cupid, Psyche, Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Minerva, et al., but an appreciation of an "Autolycan adventure"² and an "Autolycan adventurer"³ demands a better-than-average classical background.

The Classics find a broad range in O. Henry. Hotels have classical names: the Acropolis Hotel, the Hotel Lotus, the Hotel Thalia, the Hotel King Clovis. Parian and Carrara marbles are noted. Classical first names are frequent, often with symbolic meaning. Among the names are Septimius, Telemachus, Caligula, Artemisia, Aglaia, Calliope, Amaryllis, and the aptly-chosen Uncle Caesar of *A Municipal Report*. *The Morning Mars* is a newspaper; there is a *Minerva Magazine*. There is a ship, the Ariadne, and a coal-black horse is named Erebus. Fifteen story-titles have classical overtones. It may be only coincidence that the premiere of O. Henry's one musical comedy was held in Aurora, Illinois.

The Classics stand as a convenient symbol of the educated man. In *Buried Treasure*, a young man who had "all the attainments to be found in books—Latin, Greek . . ." and who quoted "translations from the Greek at

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¹ V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius* (Cambridge, Mass. 1940) 20.

² Paul MacKendrick, "Cicero's Ideal Orator—Truth and Propaganda," *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 43 (1948) 345.

³ Cited from his lectures, *History of Rome*, II, 23, by Bro. E. Patrick Parks, "The Roman Rhetorical Schools as a Preparation for the Courts under the Early Empire," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series LXII, No. 2, pp. 45-46; Parks also quotes extensively (p. 129) from Forsythe to the same effect.

much length," poses the question: "Can there be anything higher than to dwell in the society of the classics. . . ?" By contrast, his unlettered rival says of himself that he never went "any further into Latin than simple references to *Orgetorix, Rex Helevetii*."

Two snowbound Westeners find occasion for regret: "If we'd studied Homer or Greek . . . we'd have some resources in the line of meditation and thought."⁴ Included in the description of a Westerner: "Any subject you brought up old Cal could give you an abundant synopsis of it from the Greek root. . . ."⁵ A cattleman says of his traditional enemy: "I never had believed in harming sheep men. . . . I see one, one day, reading a Latin grammar on hossback, and I never touched him."⁶ The whole West is classical; "I mean the modern Indian—the kind that takes Greek prizes in college. . . ."⁷

A New York waiter-philosopher states the case for the educated man: "All the heroes on the bum carry the little book. It's either Tantalus or Liver or Horace, and it's printed in Latin. . . ."⁸

The Classics serve O. Henry most effectively in the many figurative comparisons. The more adequate similes include: as proud as Cicero; as proud as Julius Caesar; triumphant as Minerva; as simply as Homer sang; as big as the Iliad; quiet as a street in Pompeii; more like a dark horse than Pegasus; and crying like Niobe or Niagara.

Classical allusions add deft touches to personal descriptions. A face appeared as "clearly

chiselled as a Roman emperor's on some old coin."⁹ An old negro had "a face that reminded me of Brutus."¹⁰ "Undisputed sway had molded him to the likeness of a fatted Roman emperor."¹¹ "He wore a suit of dark cheviot that looked to have been draped upon him by an ancient Greek tailor . . ."¹²

In *The Enchanted Profile*, a girl who was "a holdover from the Greek classics" and "purely Paradisiac, not Olympian," turned "pink, perfect statue that she was—a miracle (shared) with Pygmalion only." Sunlight "purnished her heavy hair to the color of an ancient Tuscan's shield."¹³ "There were a thousand golden apples coming to her as Helen of the Troy laundries."¹⁴ "The bride wore a simple white dress as beautifully draped as the costumes of the ancient Greeks."¹⁵

Sparta provides several references. "He was a lucky man . . . even though he were imitating the Spartan boy with an ice cream freezer beneath his doublet frapéeing the region of his heart."¹⁶ "It was the room of a Spartan or a soldier (!)."¹⁷ A Kentuckian, off to New York, "packed a carpet-sack with Spartan lingerie."¹⁸

Still in the urban mode, "I can live as Nero lived while the city burns at ninety in the shade."¹⁹ The same city "seemed stretched on a boiler directly above the furnaces of Avernum."²⁰ ". . . New Yorkers, the most progressive and independent citizens of any country in the world," I continued, with the fatuity of a provincial who has eaten the Broadway lotus."²¹ "But in New York you must either be a New Yorker or an invader of a modern Troy, concealed in the wooden horse of your own conceited provincialism."²²

The Classics point up the weather in "the January blasts (were) making an Aeolian trombone of the empty street"²³ and "the Aeolian chorus of the wind in the house crannies."²⁴ Markedly effective is: "At its worst . . . (snow) is the wand of Circe. When it corrals man in lonely ranches . . . the snow makes apes and tigers of the hardiest."²⁵

Latin makes a contribution. "*Omne mundus in duas partes divisus est*—men who wear rubbers and pay poll-taxes, and men who

discover new continents."²⁶ "You should know that *omnae (sic) personae in tres partes divisae sunt*. Namely: Barons, Troubadours, and Workers."²⁷ Transients "carry their *lares et penates* in a bandbox."²⁸ The weeks march along with "*Tempus fugit* on their banners,"²⁹ and two friends in the tropics help along "*old tempus fugit* with rum and ice and limes."³⁰ An Unreconstructed Rebel, who asserts that "the Confederacy is running along as solid as the Roman empire," informs a Yankee in *Two Renegades* that "we sent a good many of ye over to old *mortuis nisi bonum*."

The following miscellaneous group will serve further to emphasize the range and subtlety of the allusions. The secrets of the ancients include "Etruscan inscriptions."³¹ An amateur night in vaudeville is an "illegal holiday of the Romans."³² A thug's "hand was itching to play the Roman and wrest the rag Sabine. . . ."³³ In *The Skylight Room*, a girl climbs a "Stygian stairway" to an "Erebus of a Room." A tramp's "Odyssey would have been a limerick, had it been written,"³⁴ while a Westerner anticipates hearing an "Odyssey of the chaparral."³⁵ In Mexico, "The mountains reached up their bulky shoulders to receive the level gallop of Apollo's homing steeds."³⁶ "The bread of Gaul . . . (is) compounded after the formula for the recipe for the eternal hills."³⁷ An editorial writer "lopped off the heads of the political hydra."³⁸ In one of the best of the comparisons, a girl sees the disapproving congregation of her small village church as a "hundred-eyed Cerberus that watched the gates through which her sins were fast thrusting her."³⁹

O. Henry notes the decline in classical learning, apparently evident even in his day: "Where to go for wisdom has become a matter of serious import. The ancients are discredited. . . ."⁴⁰ Yet he falls back on the Classics as a frame of reference universally understood. It is doubtful that the writer of the present day can safely assume that marked degree of classical knowledge on the part of his theoretically better educated reader.

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- ¹ THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL 43 (1948) 488-489.
² "The Ethics of Pig" in *The Gentle Grafters*.
³ "The Man Higher Up," *Ibid.*
⁴ "The Handbook of Hymen" in *Heart of the West*.
⁵ "The Missing Chord," *Ibid.*
⁶ "The Pimienta Pancakes," *Ibid.*
⁷ "He Also Serves" in *Options*.
⁸ "The Halberdier of Little Rheinschloss" in *Roads of Destiny*.
⁹ "The Sphinx Apple" in *Heart of the West*.
¹⁰ "A Municipal Report" in *Strictly Business*.
¹¹ "The Emancipation of Billy" in *Roads of Destiny*.
¹² "From Each According to His Ability" in *The Voice of the City*.
¹³ "The Unknown Quantity" in *Strictly Business*.
¹⁴ "A Poor Rule" in *Options*.
¹⁵ "The Enchanted Profile" in *Roads of Destiny*.
¹⁶ "The Defeat of the City" in *The Voice of the City*.
¹⁷ "Madame Bo-Peep of the Ranches" in *Whirligigs*.
¹⁸ "Squaring the Circle" in *The Voice of the City*.
¹⁹ "Rus in Urbe" in *Options*.
²⁰ *Ibid.*

- ²¹ "A Ruler of Men" in *Rolling Stones*.
²² "The Duel" in *Strictly Business*.
²³ "A Madison Square Garden Arabian Night" in *The Trimmed Lamp*.
²⁴ "The Snow Man" in *Waifs and Strays*.
²⁵ *Ibid.*
²⁶ "The Venturers" in *Strictly Business*.
²⁷ "The Last of the Troubadours" in *Sixes and Sevens*.
²⁸ "The Furnished Room" in *The Four Million*.
²⁹ "Hearts and Crosses" in *Heart of the West*.
³⁰ "A Ruler of Men" in *Rolling Stones*.
³¹ "An Early Parable," *Ibid.*
³² "The Unprofitable Servant," *Ibid.*
³³ "Compliments of the Season" in *Strictly Business*.
³⁴ "The Making of a New Yorker" in *The Trimmed Lamp*.
³⁵ "The Lonesome Road" in *Roads of Destiny*.
³⁶ "Smith" in *Cabbages and Kings*.
³⁷ "Extradited From Bohemia" in *The Voice of the City*.
³⁸ "The Door of Unrest" in *Sixes and Sevens*.
³⁹ "The Country of Illusion" in *The Trimmed Lamp*.
⁴⁰ "The Higher Pragmatism" in *Options*.

A BY-PATH ALONG THE ROAD TO XANADU

BEYOND the shadow of the ship,
I watched the water-snakes;
They moved in tracks of shining white,
And when they reared, the elfish light
Fell off in hoary flakes.

Within the shadow of the ship
I watched their rich attire;
Blue, glossy green, and velvet black
They coiled and swam; and every track
Was a flash of golden fire.

IN THAT MATCHLESS blend of scholarship and poetry, *The Road to Xanadu*,¹ Professor Lowes shapes the sevenfold treasure-trove from which Coleridge lavishly poured the jewels, the silver, and the gold of the snakes in the *Ancient Mariner*. It is my privilege to add still another ingredient to the magic cauldron.

Vergil's *Aeneid* was indubitably in Coleridge's "deep well of unconscious cerebration," dropped there long before Bartram's *Travels*, Captain Cook's *Voyage*, or any of the other travel books linked to the water-snakes—to their gleaming, their colors, the phosphorescence left in their wake, or to their

coiling and rearing. "Back from Christ's Hospital days," says Lowes, explaining a Vergilian tone after "the ship went down like lead," "there had flashed up to memory the great scene of the boat-race, in the fifth book of the *Aeneid*." Lowes glances at Vergil again, this time at Book III, as one of the sources of the sacred river in *Kubla Khan*, with the casual comment, "And Coleridge, like every schoolboy, knew it."

But no mention is made of the Pyrrhus passage, just before the part in Book II that Hamlet "chiefly lov'd" even though it was "caviare to the general." Here "Pyrrhus leaps up suddenly before the very vestibule and just on the threshold, gleaming with weapons and the light of bronze, as when a snake, having fed on poisonous herbs, whom, swollen, the cold winter was hiding under the ground, now—having shed his old skin—with new life and shining with youth, coils his slimy body toward the light with upreared breast, erect to the sunshine, and darts (or flashes) with his three-pronged tongue in his mouth."

Vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus

exsultat telis et luce coruscus aëna,
qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus,
frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebat,
nunc positis novis exuviiis nitidusque juventa
lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga
arduis ad solem et linguis micat ore trisulcis.²

Only one snake appears, and he without definite color; but this snake has always been to me a gleaming blue, from the phrase about Pyrrhus gleaming or glistening with the light of bronze—*luce coruscus aëna*—an instance parallel, perhaps, to some of Professor Lowes' transmogrifications.

Vergil's snake rears (*sublato pectore* and *arduis ad solem*) and coils (*convolvit*), but what slips him most quickly into the charmed pot where witches, elves, and fairies sing is his gleaming, his flashing, his shining white: *shining white*—*nitidus*; *elfish light*—*in lucem, ad solem*; a *flash of golden fire*—*micat, luce coruscus aëna*. It is possible, also, that the April hoar-frost and the hoary flakes are echoes of

frigida bruma, and that *lubrica terga* suggested slimy things that crawl with legs. It is even possible that the rich attire might have been a poetic rephrasing of Pyrrhus's armor: *telis et luce coruscus aëna*.

There are enough "hooks-and-eyes of the memory" to catch this passage firmly to the others. If the watersnakes have come from the Indies, from the Pacific Ocean off New Albion, from a little lake in the wilderness of Florida, from the Azores, and Lapland, and the South Pacific, might they not also swim in from ancient Ilium by way of Carthage and Rome?

FREDERIKA BEATTY

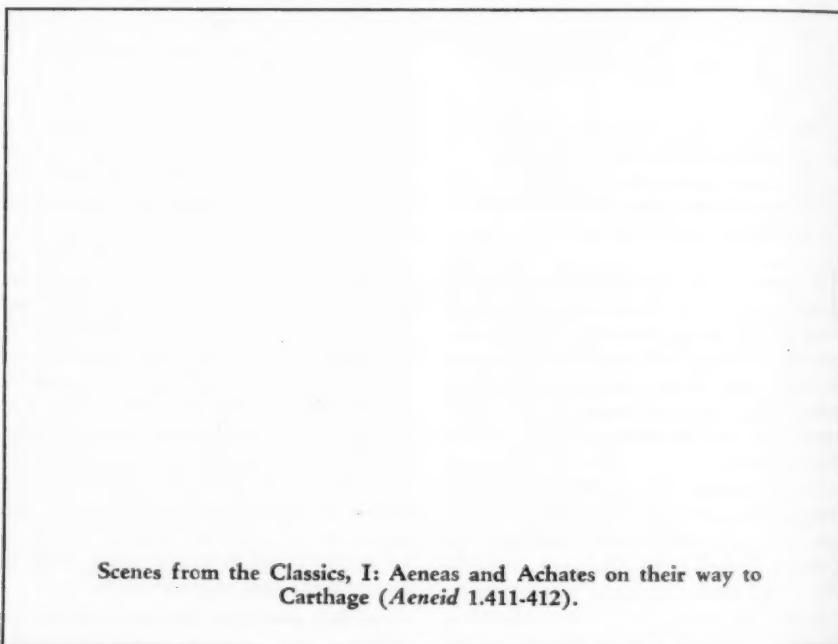
Hunter College

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¹ John Livingston Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927) 38–61.

² Vergil, *Aeneid* 2. 469–475.

CARTOON



THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

THE MINIATURE CAMERA AS AN AID TO EFFECTIVE TEACHING

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NEARLY EVERYONE knows the 35 millimeter camera, the so-called "miniature" or "candid" camera, the one which some genial imp was always snapping at you unawares when your hat blew off in a trafficked street, or at sundry other moments which you little cared to have immortalized. But not enough teachers realize that this tiny instrument provides them with one of the most effective adjuncts to good teaching since Gutenberg.

I first became interested in its possibilities in the middle '30's when I was working on my doctorate at the University of Illinois. I was teaching part time and my office mate was Rozelle P. Johnson, "Pete." Pete Johnson was one of the first Classical scholars to see the possibilities of this new toy, and he later travelled about Europe shooting yards of film strips taken from ancient and inaccessible manuscripts. (See his article, "Microphotography and its Application to Classical Scholarship," in the *Classical Weekly* 31, 1937, 95-99.)

Since that time I have made many hundreds of slides on Greek Art, Mythology, Greek and Roman Life, and on various authors and places. The process is simple and inexpensive, and you have a range of picture taking and projecting far beyond anything hitherto available.

The general principle is as follows. The 35 mm. camera is loaded not by 6 or 8 separate pieces of film, but by a long "film strip," a roll of film which will allow you to take approximately 40 pictures. When you are through shooting the whole roll, and you have it de-

veloped, you have a strip of negatives some three and one-half feet long. Now, if you have been shooting book or manuscript pages, or other written or printed matter, you need go no further. This roll as it is can be put through a projector, and you will be flashing on the screen before your class the pages or papers you have photographed.

But if you have been taking shots of paintings, or sculpture, or a picture of the Acropolis or of the Pantheon out of a textbook, the negative roll, as it stands, is not satisfactory. For, as in all negatives, the colors will be reversed, and you get a weird, often unrecognizable product. If you are a photographic enthusiast you know just what to do. But at the risk of being over-elementary, I am describing this for the person who is not, for the person whose acquaintance with the camera is limited to pulling, or pushing, the trigger. Well, you have a negative roll. You want a roll of "positives," so that when the pictures are flashed on the screen, you get the image as you actually saw it when you photographed it.

The solution is very simple. You merely hand the negative roll to the man who developed your film, and tell him you want a roll of positives.* He takes the negative, lays it over on an unexposed strip, sends a modicum of light through the former, and returns you both the negative strip and a beautiful strip of pictures which are now recognizable even

* The Zepp Photo Supply Co., 3040 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md., will process a roll for about 3¢ a shot.

to the naked eye. When these go through your projector, you have on your screen real images comparable to those which emanated from the heavy, old-fashioned, glass-enclosed

are based upon simplicity and inexpensiveness.

How to make a stand for your miniature camera. Of course, if you can afford it, or can persuade your school to buy it, a complete ready-made stand can be purchased from the Eastman Kodak Company, or from the Society for Visual Education, or from other companies which make photographic accessories. But a quite satisfactory one can be made by yourself from materials costing less than three dollars. The purpose of the camera stand is twofold: it holds the camera firmly suspended over the book or plate which you are photographing; and it allows you to move the camera up or down or sidewise until you get it into the right position.

The accompanying diagram shows a simple camera stand and how it can be constructed.

The metal rod, the clamp, and the clamp holder can be obtained at hardware stores. If the diagram still looks formidable, high school teachers can no doubt have the apparatus made in the Workshop Department, and the collegiate tenderfoot can call in a carpenter.

Lighting. Pete Johnson used to recommend that the pictures be taken by daylight near a window. Where this is not convenient, or in general for closer control of the lighting, two gooseneck lamps holding 60-watt bulbs may be used. These are set down on one each side of the base board so that they cast their light directly at the materials you are photographing. (See diagram.)

* Eimer and Amend Co., Inc., 635 Greenwich St., New York 14, N. Y.

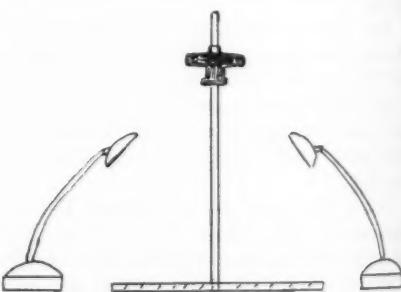
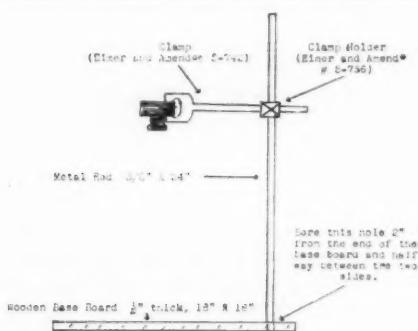
lantern slides, which had to be purchased at considerable cost and used in one of those huge and expensive balopticons of a former day.

And your projector? It is a neat and compact little item which weighs 5 to 10 pounds, and is packed in a handy carrying case.

But that is not all. Each of the separate pictures on your strip of positive film can be cut off from the strip. It can be mounted into a piece of cardboard which you can make for yourself. (Or you can purchase these mounts inexpensively.) They are now bona fide slides, or "transparencies," and can be projected in the same projector. These slides are two inches by two inches, and will throw an image fully suitable for the class room or for a small auditorium.

These 2" x 2" slides are actually much more convenient to use than the film strips. You can select and rearrange the pictures as you will. You can add your own handmade diagrams. You can intersperse them with 2" x 2" Kodachrome transparencies, for greater interest and color.

Just how does the amateur go about making available to himself this great new aid to effective teaching? The following suggestions



Camera. Any "miniature camera" may be used. These take 35 millimeter film, in rolls. A good inexpensive camera is the Argus. Since you will be taking pictures at very close range, 12 to 18 inches for the most part, the camera may require an additional "close-up lens." This lens costs very little and is simply fitted over the other camera lens.

Film. Du Pont Safety Positive film, 35 millimeter; or Eastman Microfile. These can be purchased at a great saving in 100-foot rolls, then loaded into cartridges in a Dark Room (or in your clothes closet, or cellar at night.) Since these are not fast films it is not necessary to load the cartridges in total darkness: a red "safety" light may be used. Or take a 10 or 15-watt bulb and cover it over with several thicknesses of red cellophane. A cartridge will hold 3 to 3½ feet of film, or about 40 exposures.

To make color slides, the process is still simpler. Use Eastman Kodachrome 35 millimeter film. (Specify "for indoor lighting" if you intend to snap the pictures by the light of goosenecks or other lamps.) These cartridges come loaded with 18 to 20 exposures. After you have taken the pictures, you merely return the film to the Eastman Kodak Co. They come back all processed, in the form of 2" x 2" slides ready to use.

What materials to photograph. Here you have a very wide range. You may shoot pages from books, illustrations from books, maps, plates of statues and buildings and vases, etc. I usually keep two folders of materials to be photographed, one of black and white, the other of color pictures. Some of the best available color pictures of Greek Art, for example, are those found in the women's style magazines in the advertising of shoes, perfumes, bras, and girdles. Occasionally some discreet excising is helpful. The University Prints, of Newton, Mass., carries a large collection of art reproductions.

Of course, for those who can get abroad, actual on-the-spot shots of your travels, if they are taken with a 35 millimeter camera, will make excellent slides.

An interesting additional technique is the use of diagrams or outlines of your own mak-

ing. Suppose, for example, that you want to include in your illustrated talk a simple diagram of a Pompeian house, and you'd prefer to do it in your own inimitable fashion. Take a piece of exposed film, soak it in water, and remove all the emulsion. It will then be perfectly clear and transparent. First you let it dry, then you proceed to pursue your artistic impulses in ink on the film. Use all the colors you want. Add verbal description, notes, or comments. Snip off the piece of film, set it in a Slide Binder (see later), and you have an illustration which is more permanent and far more effective than the same item drawn on the blackboard. This technique may be used for titles of lectures, and for amusing or interesting subtitles along the way. Incidentally, you may also mark up other transparencies in the same way. For example, you have a map of ancient Britain. Mark with an arrow in red ink the spot where Caesar landed. It will be remembered far longer.

Taking the actual pictures. You have built your camera stand. You have provided lighting. You have loaded your camera with a roll of film, and it rests expectantly on the cross arm some 12 inches above a plate of a bust of Cicero. Now what?

You'll have to do some experimenting. The first roll or two should be devoted to trying shots with different camera openings and different lengths of exposure and at different heights. You will probably find that the different heights have only a little effect on the time of exposure necessary. You will probably find that it is best not to shoot with the widest opening of your lens. Use f9, for example, for a clearer picture. That leaves the question, how long should the time of exposure be? Try four seconds. Try less, try more. With the Dupont Safety Positive film, a height of 12 to 15 inches, and f9 lens opening, something around 4 seconds should do it. (With Kodachrome, from 3 to 8 seconds, depending on the color brightness of the picture you are photographing: darker colors, longer time of exposure.)

But you will do your own experimenting,

and find your own ingenious answers to some of the questions which come up.

When your processed rolls return, they are ready to project in the form of film strips.

Making the slides. But you probably will prefer, in most cases, to make individual 2" x 2" slides out of the pictures you now have. You can cut out the separate shots and mount them into home made cardboard mounts, taking care that the final size is two inches by two inches. But much more satisfactory for permanent purposes are the S. V. E.* Slide Binders, with glass, 35 mm. These sell at about \$3 per 100, and it is a very simple matter to mount your film into them. You now have 2" x 2" glass slides.

Projector. If you want a projector of the type which shoots both 35 mm. film strips and 2" x 2" slides, S. V. E. puts out a good one for around sixty dollars (and up). Eastman offers a projector which will take only the slides for under thirty dollars. In any case, if you are buying, you will examine the catalogs of the major companies, and probably consult your dealer and your Minister of the Exchequer.

Screens. You are now ready to project. Pictures may be thrown against a blank white wall, a sheet pinned over a wall, or a screen. Since the slides and the projector are so easy to carry about, portable screens have come into demand, and are readily available.

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From here on, you are on your own. After a few false starts, you will soon agree that photography is one of the finest hobbies that a teacher can possibly have, and that the 35 mm. camera and the 2" x 2" slide projector provide him with an exciting device to add to his own capabilities in teaching, and to add interest and color and enthusiasm to any class room. The results will quickly repay you for the small outlay for equipment. And after a while you may even be able to persuade the authorities that you could do even better, if only you had the use of a Leica camera.

* S.V.E. is the Society for Visual Education ("a business corporation"), 100 East Ohio St., Chicago 11, Ill.

VERGIL IN GRADE X— CAN IT BE DONE?

HAZEL L. TOMPKINS

FREDERICK W. HORNER

SERVING in its official capacity as organ of the CAMWS, THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL has presented in November, 1947, and November, 1948, the lengthy reports of the Committee on Educational Policies, "Toward Improvement of the High-School Latin Curriculum." This Committee's project, proposing the teaching of Vergil in the second-year course, has naturally stimulated discussion among Latin teachers both in and out of the Association, and has even received considerable attention and some debate in the general public press. The editors of the JOURNAL believe that it is a part of this magazine's natural function to reflect faithfully all such reactions, and they are glad to publish expressions of opinion which come to their attention, regardless of whether they favor or disfavor the Committee's proposals.

The paragraphs which follow are excerpts from the remarks of two of the leaders of an informal discussion which constituted the program of a meeting of the St. Louis Classical Club in January, 1948. Miss Tompkins and Mr. Horner based their comments on the report of November 1947 referred to above, after the history and aims of the project of the Committee on Educational Policies had been set forth in summary form by Professor Norman J. DeWitt. The editors are grateful to the speakers for graciously consenting to be quoted here. May others come forward as bravely with their pros and cons!

Miss Hazel Tompkins, Cleveland High School:

... I HAVE LIVED through, in fact taught through, an effort on the part of our school system to move Vergil up earlier in the curriculum, introducing him in the last half of the third year for much the same avowed purpose as that set forth by the Committee on Educa-

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tional Policies. Our earlier aim was to give everyone who took three years of Latin a "taste" of Vergil. . . . Again, I have had an opportunity to try out Vergil even earlier; that is, in the fifth term, in a combination with all the advanced students, where the order of presentation must be varied so that all members of the class might read new material each term. . . .

But to move Vergil up to the third semester—that is something else! If it can be done, it certainly will be well worth doing. The problems are tremendous, but they have been bravely tackled by the Committee, whose plan, as printed in the JOURNAL, is briefly this: to teach no more Latin grammar than is immediately necessary for use in the second year, but to teach it very thoroughly.

The Committee suggests that case forms should not be separated into declensions nor verbs into conjugations; that constructions be handled as natural relationships in thought, without giving formal names to types of ablatives, datives, accusatives, etc.; that time be given definitely to a fully developed, solid study of English derivatives.

Further changes suggested have to do with developing a different vocabulary from that which we have at present, conforming to a dual purpose, (1) that of showing the linguistic relationship of Latin and English and (2) that of developing a vocabulary for Vergil—this second a gigantic, even horrendous task in itself; for the richness of the Vergilian vocabulary, the infinite variety in use of adjectives alone presents a grave problem to whosoever would enter Vergil's sacred precincts, be he Sophomore or Senior, teacher or professor, or mere problem child!

To return to the immediate necessities in grammar, there seems to be here a strange paradox. We must teach *thoroughly*, so that the pupil will *understand* and *remember* and recognize forms, and yet take from these forms every semblance of organization, of logic and sweet reasonableness that is inherent in not only Latin grammar but even the "loose pattern" of the English. In teaching the five cases separately, as most modern textbooks do, with a lesson story for each, I find myself

speeding up the dative and ablative in order to get to Lesson Five, which gives all the cases together in a paradigm, with a translation for each.

Have you seen the relief on the face of the bright child who at last can get his house in order? Now he has something to lean on, to be *sure of*! Would you take that away from him? I am afraid the Committee would! Or, conceding it for the first declension, they would forbid it for the second. But I challenge the Committee to get results from the third declension, with its variant stems, its deceptive neuters, and the peripatetic *i*-forms that turn up here and there, without giving the pupil the satisfaction of lining up one noun and looking at it in contrast with another, or giving him at least a masculine and a neuter marching side by side.

Do we not urge the student to outline his history lesson and see it as a whole with interrelationship of its parts? What if, in his earlier schooling, he had never put his alphabet in order? (He doesn't begin with it now, you know!) What would he do with a telephone book—or a Latin dictionary for that matter? Suppose that he were not allowed to try to learn his multiplication tables. "Let him learn to count and make change with his money as the need arises in his later life." Or, "Omit these tables now. Don't worry him with the *names* of processes. He will learn them later." Yet I submit that in high school he has reached that "later" stage. The terminology of baseball does not hurt him! Let us give high-school pupils the terminology of grammar, so that we can talk to each other, and let us use the *names* until the pupils can too. How often have you asked. "What gender?" and got the cheerful answer "Ablative"—"What number?" and got "Noun?"

In one part of the report, Dr. Else pleads for economy in teaching—"If the necessary grammar could be taught in six weeks, let us say it *should* be taught in six weeks." . . . But if this grammar is taught intensively for six weeks, or longer, and is not referred to and used consciously (with *names*) in the Latin reading that goes on at the same time and subsequently, it will not continue to be a part of

the mental equipment of the pupil, and it will be thrown off as mental waste material. It will not function in the following term, except in a haphazard way.

As to the unnamed constructions discussed by Dr. Montgomery under "Functional Approach to Latin Grammar," I say: Try to get an untrained pupil of thirteen years straight from the elementary schools where they have avoided naming grammatical forms, to see the accusative as a "goal of an action or motion . . . physical or mental." Then give him Dr. Montgomery's seven types one by one, or even two by two or all together, and you will have nothing short of pandemonium in his poor little brain.

We whose minds have been trained to grasp automatically the relationships of words fail at times to realize that the young pupil, trained in indefiniteness and generalizations or taught simply to follow the teacher or the book in naming thought processes, can not make distinctions without having words to express the ideas, terminology to use as pegs on which to hang related thoughts. I grant you that the number of names in forms and syntax can be further cut down, as it already has been to a great extent; but we can not expect generalization in the uses of five or six cases and four times as many verb forms to produce good results with young people in the first year of Latin.

Moreover, the good student *hates* to have to guess and find repeatedly that he has guessed wrong. It embarrasses him. Yet that is what he will have to do if the uses of, for example, the accusative beyond the direct object are only vague, ill-defined, as in Dr. Montgomery's seven types. He tries to associate his first accusative with the direct object, which he understands, but the second one or the third escapes him. Then he shrugs his shoulders and stops following you; he begins to worry—or to bluff. He ceases to try to use his forms and unnamed constructions and becomes a slick guesser. His study habits are ruined, his pride is gone. I am afraid that it will be a real "*mirabile dictu*" if he makes anything at all of Vergil in his second year.

One more comment. What happens when

pupils read Latin texts heavily annotated and with marginal vocabulary? One of two things. (1) They gratefully memorize the passage in the notes, not having the least idea where the thought came from; it does not occur to them (in spite of teacher's nagging) to look up any of the words, to investigate their meaning. Then on a subsequent examination they leave the annotated passage blank. Nothing has registered in their minds, for the author did the work. They shrug their shoulders cheerfully—"Of course I didn't know it; that was in the notes!" Or (2) they divide their attention and their glances between the passage and the footnotes, don't get either fully, and produce the pausing, stuttering, sometimes meaningless translation that is all too well known to all teachers.

Only a very few search for the source of the interpretation in the notes, and still fewer ask the teacher where it comes from if they can't work it out for themselves. As a result after they meet the same construction several times in the notes, and the author, confident that the pupils have now absorbed the construction by a kind of osmosis, omits the note, behold the pupils helpless, baffled, prostrated!

I agree with the Committee in believing that English word study must be taught thoroughly, with a definite plan and a variety of treatments which should take deeper hold on the student than any such work on the part of an English teacher could do. "Passing references" will not do the trick, I am sure. But I can not resist saying that "passing references" to ablatives, datives, gerundives, and volitives will not function either unless they are taught thoroughly and with concentration. . . .

Mr. F. W. Horner, John Burroughs School. . . . [The question then is:] **SHOULD VERGIL** be attempted in the second year, with our ultimate goal the improvement of the teaching and learning of Latin, so that the Classics may retain and even advance their present status? Let us try to list some "pros" and "cons."

For the "pros," the outstanding point is

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clearly the matter of literary values, and has to do with that indefinable yet indestructible pleasure which a fortunate few may derive from the real comprehension of a great work of art. . . . [It may be thought] that students will acquire such skill in Latin from a zeal and enthusiasm brought about by exposure to this great literature, that where they may have done but a mediocre job in Caesar, they will possibly do quite well in Vergil. This does not seem a very likely outcome, but it must be granted that no one of us can yet say it is a proven impossibility.

The "cons" have to do with the effect of this proposed move upon the future of Latin as a part of the high-school curriculum. Is it not possible that the present small number of third- and fourth-year students will diminish still further? Many of our students, upon learning that their experience is being "telescoped," may well say, "I've had just about the best in Latin literature. Why should I continue with something second-rate, or something originally passed over in favor of Vergil?" Is it not possible, moreover, that by thus telescoping the Latin program, we may not be making it stronger but rather taking a step toward its ultimate elimination? . . . [Other "cons" to be considered include:]

1. **Vocabulary.** We must consider not only the problem of sheer size of the Vergilian vocabulary, nor the matter of the percentage of such words as assist through English derivatives, but above all the question of the best meaning for a word in its context. This surely calls for a fairly extensive English vocabulary as a prerequisite, and the acquisition of this will have been aided to at least some degree by previous years of Latin study.

2. **Word order.** As mentioned but not stressed in most comments, this differs widely from that of ordinary prose, which is more straightforward, and in addition has no metrical restrictions to require that an adjective be sometimes placed not next to its noun, etc.

3. **Syntactical constructions** peculiar to Vergil and other poets, such as the Greek accusative, the middle voice, transferred agreement, variations of case usage, such as the

Dative and Ablative of Separation, etc. These can of course be taught in a "pre-Vergil" course, but can hardly be a simplification of the usual work in syntax of first-year Latin.

4. **Figures of rhetoric.** Many of these appear in Cicero, but relatively few in Caesar. The nomenclature need not be memorized, but a comprehension of the operation of each is indispensable to an intelligent rendition of many Vergilian passages.

Any summing up of the above points must bring forth the question: Is there not a degree of intellectual and linguistic maturity which is a vital requisite for a sound grasp of a work such as the *Aeneid*? We may not know all about the measurement of this maturity level, but even the most progressive of educators will admit that it does exist, and a few will state candidly that it comprises an important feature of intellectual growth

In conclusion . . . we may edit or modify or cut down or simplify the Classics curriculum in many ways; we may attempt to take virtually any field of classical literature and alter it so that it is understandable for any given grade level; we may, in short, become efficiency experts, and teach nothing but that which we have reason to believe will be used from day to day; we may estimate and measure and cut and trim the academic upholstery so that it will cover precisely the visible part of the educational couch, and with naught to spare. But then there may be none of the material left into which we may drive the tacks—the humanistic zeal and the intellectual curiosity of some of our students. We then are left with the hope that somehow, after the total content of the Latin course has been cut to roughly two-thirds of what it once was, most of our students may manage to obtain pleasure and profit from two-thirds of what is left.

If it is the conviction ultimately of teachers of the Classics that such a proposal as the placing of Vergil in the second year should, or must, be attempted, then by all means let us consider the pursuing of this policy with an objectivity of approach, with vigor, and with honest efforts to achieve success. I stand with those teachers of the Classics who embrace

grave doubts about the outcome of such an experiment, but who do not categorically refuse to give it a trial.

ON BEGINNING THE STUDY OF GREEK WITH HOMER

W. EDWARD BROWN
Lafayette College

IN SO CONSERVATIVE a department of the teaching profession as that of the Hellenist any innovation is likely to be regarded with suspicion. Methods, procedures, subject matter seem to have been established once and for all by the legislator of the Medes and the Persians. It was therefore with a certain degree of trepidation that I undertook in the fall of 1946 an experiment in the teaching of Greek with an elementary class of twenty at Lafayette College. For fifteen years I had followed the traditional pattern of the elementary course, attempting in a single year with three class periods a week to teach the entire morphology and syntax of Attic Greek and at the same time put the class through enough interesting and easy reading material to make the transition to the second year relatively painless and give the boys some glimmer of a notion of the extent and beauty of Greek literature. In this Sisyphean task I had used three elementary texts during my fifteen years. These, although differing in details and order of presentation, were on common ground as regards vocabulary and type of reading selection—they all drew their material chiefly from Xenophon. This is, of course, the traditional approach, and dates from the dim past when a student, with some four years of Greek before him, was supposed to do his early work of linguistic dissection on a *corpus vile*, so admirably afforded by the pedestrian journalist of the *Anabasis*. Contemporary reality, however, even at the date when I began to teach, had become entirely at variance with this approach; most of my students would never study Greek beyond the required second year, unless, as pre-

theological students, they continued the study to fulfill seminary requirements. In that case they needed a specialized and relatively uncomplicated Greek, and Xenophon's vocabulary of parasangs and peltasts was no much waste material.

For some years prior to the war I had attempted to remedy this disturbing situation by a more or less workable compromise. All the elementary students were given the same exposure to Attic grammar and Xenophontic vocabulary in the first year; there was no choice, since no texts were available using a better approach. In the second year the class was divided; the pre-theological students got *koinē* Greek and read the *New Testament*, which they found easy (and boring); the others got Lucian and Plato. It was a compromise, at best, and had among other disadvantages that of dividing one already small class into two smaller classes, and augmenting my already heavy hour schedule with three additional hours per week.

The war interrupted my teaching of Greek, but gave me some extremely interesting experience in learning, and later in teaching, two other highly difficult languages. Much has been said both for and against the army methods in language instruction. This much at least can be asserted: streamlined, as it had of grim necessity to be, something approaching "basic" language was taught, and superfluous material, however interesting to a philologist, was rigorously excluded. When I returned in 1946 to my college, I determined to undertake an experiment in teaching Greek by using a newly published text, *A Reading Course in Homeric Greek*, by Raymond V. Schoder, S. J., and Vincent C. Horrigan, S. J. [Lithoprinted by the Edwards Bros., Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1946; later published by the Loyola Press, Chicago, Ill.] This text had for my purposes two exceedingly attractive features: first, it was based throughout on the vocabulary and syntax of Homer's *Odyssey*, and presupposed as reading goals large selections from the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Books of the *Odyssey* and the Sixth of the *Iliad*, thus introducing the student at the outset to two masterpieces of Greek—and

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world—literature, instead of to a second-rate fifth-century war correspondent; second, the authors had with the greatest care and pains contrived to reduce the forms and syntax to be learned to a surprisingly small minimum. It was thus made possible, in theory, for the student to cover in a term all the vocabulary, morphology and syntax needed for him to begin reading the *Odyssey* in his second term. Such was—and is—the theory; it remained for me to learn by experiment to what extent it could be realized in fact. The success of the experiment has been such that it emboldens me to record it for the benefit of any CLASSICAL JOURNAL readers who may be interested in trying it. The method, moreover, is obviously as well adapted to Latin as to Greek, and thus the whole matter has an interesting bearing on the project frequently discussed in the JOURNAL, for replacing Caesar's *Commentaries* with the *Aeneid* in second-year Latin.

First of all, let me mention a few of the disappointing features of the experiment. Chief of these, I think, is this: the authors of *A Reading Course in Homeric Greek* planned their text primarily for high-school students with a fair grounding of Latin; I used the text with a class of college freshmen, very few of whom had been exposed to enough Latin to be of service to them. All the authors' laudable efforts, therefore, at drawing parallels between the languages were for my students wasted time. This is, admittedly, a most regrettable situation, but I know of no remedy as long as colleges permit freshmen to enter without Latin. Moreover, the tone of the explanatory notes to the story of the *Odyssey*, keyed as these naturally are to the immature high school student, seemed a trifle naive and puerile to my more sophisticated freshmen, many of them veterans.

On the favorable side of the ledger there is more to record. The streamlining of Greek grammar permitted an enormous saving of time. Instead of lingering for days over the intricate rules of accentuation, the students were permitted to write their English-to-Greek exercises without benefit of accents. However painful to me aesthetically the

results may have been, I fully acknowledge that the time saving justified them. The multifarious forms of the -mi verbs were relegated for the most part to footnotes and the appendix of paradigms, where they certainly belong; and since "contract verbs" are frequently not contracted in Homer, these were presented like any other verbs, and one special lesson devoted to the rules of contraction just before the beginning of the *Odyssey* readings. It has thus been possible for me to concentrate in one term the grammar and morphology, and in the second term read the selections from the Ninth Book of the *Odyssey*. This is by no means as rapid progress as the authors envisaged, but far more rapid than I have ever made before under the traditional system.

How have the students reacted to the experiment? On the whole most favorably. There is an undeniably stultifying effect in a study of undiluted grammar prolonged over a whole year or even more, as it had sometimes to be, and this effect is now avoided. The *Odyssey* is a rousing adventure story—at least the portions we read—and the students enjoy it as I have never known them to enjoy any other Greek except the *Iliad*. Perhaps the best measure of student interest, however, can be found in the fact that two of my original freshman class have elected to major in Greek in their last two years—the first time in some dozen* years that there has been a Greek major in my college.

One more question arises regarding the experiment. How well are the students, grounded only in "basic" Homeric Greek, prepared for the classical idiom? In their fourth term my classes, after having read nothing but *Odyssey* and *Iliad* selections, went through Plato's *Apology*. Naturally, such a jump required a great deal of preparing. We spent about two weeks making a careful review of Homeric forms and syntax and a comparison of these with Attic usage. For this purpose I used *Transition to Attic Greek*, also by Raymond V. Schoder, S.J., and Vincent C. Horrigan, S.J. [Loyola Press, 1947]. This little volume is intended as a reference grammar only, and it is excellent for

the purpose. With very few exceptions I found it adequate as preparation for Attic Greek. My students had a few painful and discouraging days as I plunged them mercilessly into Plato, but I think their floundering was not greater than that of classes under the older curriculum who were shifted suddenly from the Greek gospels to Lucian. In any case, they survived, and by the end of the term were even able to read Attic Greek quite readily at sight.

In conclusion I would like to go back a moment to the question of trying a similar experiment in Latin. I well remember the incredulous feeling of power and triumph I had when as a boy I had come out of a year of Latin grammar with the ability to read rapidly at sight the easy "made Latin" passages at the end of the text—and what a bitter disillusionment and lasting tribulation were the—to me—crabbed and contorted sentences of the *Commentaries* into which I was plunged in the second year. Cicero pushed my boredom to the point of rebellion, and it was not until I reached the *Aeneid* that I felt again any delight in reading Latin. If others have had the same experience as mine—and I gather that it is not uncommon—it seems to me that any system eliminating Caesarian *oratio obliqua* and Ciceronian bombast could only be to the good. I have

too little experience of teaching Latin to hazard more than a guess as to the practicability of using Vergil in the second year as a parallel to Homer; my guess would be that Vergil is too sophisticated, complex and civilized for the purpose. Homer is ideal material for early reading in Greek because of the ingenuous expression, the complete want of complexity in thought or syntax. In these respects the *Aeneid* is anything but Homeric. I suppose it would be foolhardy to suggest that the only Latin author of my acquaintance who has the childlike qualities of Homer (barring such mediaeval writers as Gregory of Tours, in his second childhood!) is Plautus. There is a verve—Caesar's *comica vis*—in Plautus, and interest enough in his plots to compensate for the rather large vocabulary and the antique forms. Of course, it might be necessary to do a little judicious pruning of the text here and there, even in such a moral play as the *Captivi*. Plautus, however, has the inestimable advantage of affording actual living, colloquial Latin speech, instead of the bookish idiom of almost all other Roman writers. Speaking Latin, for a class with a Plautine vocabulary and training, would be a goal very easy of realization. I scarcely expect any Latinist to look with favor on this suggestion, but I offer it nevertheless as an addendum to my experience in starting Greek with Homer.

"WE SEE BY THE PAPERS"

Continued from Page 194

(HS *sēmis-tertius, i.e., two asses and a half of the third one, shortened to "a half of the third one") contained the most likely solution to the problem and the word "sesterticentennial" was coined.

"We may compare similar dimidiatives in some

modern languages, e.g., Swedish "halv annan" = one and a half (literally half of the second one) and the German "drittelhalb" = two and a half (literally half of the third one)."

W. C. S.

BOOK REVIEWS

SERVIUS ON VERGIL

RAND, E. K., J. J. SAVAGE, H. T. SMITH, G. B. WALDROP, J. P. ELDER, B. M. PEEBLES, A. F. STOCKER, *Servianorum in Vergili Carmina Commentariorum Volumen II, Quod in Aeneidos Libros I et II Explanationes Continet*: Lancaster, Pa., American Philological Association (1946). Pp. xxi + 509. \$5.00.

SERVIUS HONORATUS, a Roman grammarian belonging to the latter part of the fourth century of our era, composed a commentary on the works of Vergil. Its contents are historical, antiquarian, and literary in nature but of unequal value. This commentary has been transmitted in both a shorter and a more expanded form. The shorter form, known variously as the genuine Servius or the vulgate, and abbreviated S, is found in the majority of the older Servian manuscripts, in which Servius is usually called the author. This was first published by Jacobus Rubeus in 1475 at Venice.¹ The next significant edition appeared in 1600, the work of the French scholar Pierre Daniel, and, because of its expanded character, is now called the Daniel Servius, briefly DS.² The additions to S which are found in this edition are known to be derived from some non-Servian ancient source, possibly, as some believe, from Aelius Donatus, the famous teacher, who has left a commentary on Terence and a life of Vergil. The fusion of S and this non-Servian material took place in the seventh or eighth century but is the work of some unknown scholar. There is a third, likewise expanded, form of the Servian commentary, called Servius auctus, which is found in Italian manuscripts of the Renaissance period. The expanded material herein embodied is generally inferior to DS and, until recently, has been disparaged by scholars. But Stocker, one of the Harvard editors, has endeavored to show that one of the manuscripts hitherto disregarded, namely, the Codex Guelferbytanus 2091 (W), of the

thirteenth century, was actually copied from Codex Vaticanus 3317 (V), a manuscript of the tenth century.³ This has led to a more careful consideration of the later Servian manuscripts.

Until recently the standard text for reference to Servius' commentary has been that of Thilo and Hagen, the first volume of whose editon appeared in 1881.⁴ This work suffered from poor arrangement and much confusion because Thilo was mainly interested in S and believed DS to represent S plus other material of varying antiquity and diverse sources, which to him appeared to be of limited importance. Thilo thought that the fusion of S and D was the work of some English or Irish scholar belonging to the eighth century.

It was Barwick⁵ who first pointed to the special importance of D, he even maintaining that it is earlier than S and has a definite and peculiar character quite distinct from S. He placed it between Donatus and Servius in time. Moreover, Barwick claimed that D and S employed the same sources. In 1916 E. K. Rand offered strong arguments for identifying D with Aelius Donatus.⁶ Rand's pupil, J. J. Savage, followed up this argument in his paper written in 1931,⁷ and in another discussion in the following year.⁸ A. H. Travis, however, has recently contested this view on the ground that the D element in DS is hardly in the style of Donatus.⁹ As to this important question, therefore, it must be said that *sub iudice lis est*. One of the projects, no doubt, of the Harvard editors of Servius will be to offer further proof of their view that DS is Servius and Donatus. If this view can be successfully defended, the great value of their researches is at once apparent; for thereby many of the Servian comments will be carried well back toward Vergil's own time, since Donatus is known to have used Suetonius in his life of Vergil.

The volume now under consideration is

one of five that will constitute the complex text of the Harvard Servius. It contains the commentary on *Aeneid I-II*. Four more volumes are to follow, devoted to the Prolegomena and to the commentary on *Aeneid III-XII*, the *Georgics* and the *Bucolics*. Although Professor Rand did not live to see any part of this his final major project reach the press, the junior editors inform us that he had marked the main outlines of the complete study and had approved the plan.

Obviously, any final judgment to be passed upon this new Servian commentary must await the completion of the work, but many features can be approved even as seen in Volume II, now published. The clarity and orderliness of the new text makes the use of the commentary much easier than in the Thilo-Hagen edition; for by the printing alone the reader can see at a glance wherein the DS text differs from the S text, since the S text is placed on the right of the page, the DS on the left, and the two separated by vertical lines. Where the two texts do not vary, the commentary is printed across the page. The type is unusually sharp and clear.

The real value of the new Harvard commentary will be found, in large part, in the much broader foundation upon which it rests; for the editors have consulted a greater number of manuscripts than had Thilo, some of which were wholly unknown to him, and they have been able to give new and greater value to some manuscripts that Hagen had slighted.

In Volume II, now under review, a brief *Praefatio* is followed by a bibliography of the various editions of the Servian commentary, editions of Vergil's works, special studies on Servius by many scholars, a list of codices manuscripti, and other helps. In the text itself all important variant readings are recorded at the bottom of each page.

The junior editors, who must now carry out the work to completion, are former pupils of Professor Rand, and, of themselves, have done much of the basic work which makes this new Servius possible. This initial volume has been greeted with general approval by reviewers, and all careful readers of Vergil will desire to own the new Harvard Servius for their libraries. We await the succeeding volumes with the greatest of interest.

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NOTES

¹ Jacobus Rubeus, *Vergilius. Opera cum commentariis M. Servii Honorati*, Venetiis, 1475.

² Petrus Daniel, Pub. *Virgilii Maronis . . . Bucol. . . Georg. . . Aeneid . . . Et in ea Mauri Servi Honori Grammatici commentarii, ex antiquiss. exemplaribus longe meliores et auctiores*, Parisis, 1600. As this title indicates, the text of Vergil and the Servian commentary were published together. The Servian commentary is based upon a comparatively small number of manuscripts, which are of early date, however; but nowhere is it ascribed to Servius or anyone else. Its attribution to Servius is due to the similarity between its comments and other comments ascribed to Servius by Macrobius.

³ Arthur Frederick Stocker, "A New Source for the Text of Servius," *HSCP* LVII (1941), 65-97. The word of copying by W took place before V became mutilated.

⁴ Georgius Thilo et Hermannus Hagen, *Servii grammatici qui seruntur in Vergili carmina commentarii*; volumes, 1881-1902, Teubner. Vol. III, fasc. 2, is the work of Hagen alone, which contains manuscripts in addition to those called Servian, also the Bern scholia.

⁵ Karl Barwick, "Zur Serviusfrage," *Philologus*, LX (1911), 106-145. For some earlier work, see Travis, cited in note 9, below.

⁶ E. K. Rand, "Is Donatus's Commentary on Virgil Lost?" *C. Q.* x (1616), 158-164.

⁷ J. J. Savage, "Was the Commentary on Virgil by Aelius Donatus Extant in the Ninth Century?" *C. P. xxvi* (1931), 405-411.

⁸ J. J. Savage, "The Manuscripts of the Commentary of Servius Danielis on Virgil," *HSCP*, XLIII (1932), 77-121.

⁹ Albert H. Travis, "Donatus and the Scholia Danielis," *HSCP*, LII (1942), 157-169. This paper cites the earlier work which led to the identification of D as the work of Donatus.

LATIN WEEK 1949

*A special feature in our January issue
(illustrated)*

VIRGIL'S MIND AT WORK

R. W. CRUTTWELL, *Virgil's Mind at Work: an Analysis of the Symbolism of the Aeneid*: Oxford, Blackwell; New York, Macmillan (1947). Pp. x + 182. \$2.50.

THE AUTHOR found the work because of its method impracticable to index; the reviewer for the same reason finds it almost equally impracticable to read—*virum te putabo, si Sallustii Empedoclea legeris, hominem non putabo*. Within its pages bristle a multiplicity of symbolisms, varying from the obvious and generally accepted to the impossible or trivial—he even notes as “at least curious” the coincidence of line-numbering between *Aen.* 6.267 and Ovid *F.* 6.267 (an identity more tangible than any likeness in thought between the two passages). “A poet's symbolism,” he tells us, “will verbally communicate a poet's synthesis of things associated in his mind upon three levels—(1) that of unconscious relation to the poet's own heredity; (2) that of subconscious relation to the poet's own environment; and (3) that of conscious relation to the poet's own identity.” For a concrete illustration see p. 9: “Hence the undercurrents of Virgil's mind, whenever he crossed the Almo, are likely to have run along such lines as these:—Mount Ida, in the Troad, as source both of Venus' Trojan motherhood and of Cybele's cult-title; Carthage, whither Naevius and perhaps Ennius had already brought Aeneas, as the doomed Mediterranean rival of Rome; Mount Eryx, in Sicily, as source of Venus' Roman cult-title; Cumae, only twelve miles from Naples and reputedly its mother-city, as source of the Sibylline Books and of Apollo's Roman cult; the Tiber-mouth, as the arrival-point in Latium both of Aeneas and of Cybele with their respective ship-borne hallows; the Tiber-river, as carrying both of them onward to its Roman bank; and Rome, as receiving under Etruscan auspices from Cumae those Sibylline Books whose interpretation, in accordance with the Aeneas-legend, supposedly resulted in her final victory over Carthage through the divine intervention both of

Aeneas' mother Venus on the Capitol and of Aeneas' compatriot Cybele on the Palatine.” This may seem difficult pabulum, but really for something upon which to chew let the reader turn to the 31-line sentence on pp. 18–19, or such phrases as (p. 107) “Aeneas' own emotional heart-fire with its domestically fuelled but crematorily scorching flame.”

The twelve chapters (the reviewer refuses the temptation to enlarge upon the probable symbolism in Mr. Cruttwell's conscious or subconscious mind of this half-Homeric yet fully Virgilian or Statian number) bear paired titles: Venus and Cybele, Iulus and Julius, Troy and Rome, Teucer and Dardanus, Laomedon and Tiberinus, Atlas and Hercules, Vulcan and Vesta, dealing with pairs of characters, and Shield and Maze, Hut and Hive, Urn and House, Ashes and Spirit, Tomb and Womb of a more topical nature. His method is to let one thing suggest another (or its opposite), and is best stated on p. 40: “The symbolism of the *Aeneid* is therefore axial, revolving as it were spherically about one central line between two poles—the one pole being a Troy whose symbols are Roman, the other a Rome whose symbols are Trojan, etc.” For the symbolical interpreter guesses seem very easily to become facts, as for example two noteworthy alleged “facts” on pp. 121–122. Such speculations will doubtless appeal to those who believe that (p. 140) Virgil “in his mind's eye sees an Aeneas who . . . carries back again from Troy once more to Italy that hive-equivalent House of the bee-equivalent Dardanus which, lineally identical both with the House of Assaracus and with the House of Anchises, is now the House of Aeneas himself,” or to those who find comfort in the notion (169) of Dido (Phoenissa) as the wife of a Phoenix—a sort of she-Phoenix—who “will herself by implication rise again from the ashes of her own incineration under the reincarnational form of Hannibal.” On p. 145, however, “Anchises' Sicilian incineration [bears] the same symbolically representative relation to Troy's fiery destruction by

Greece as is borne by Dido's Libyan incineration to Carthage's fiery destruction by Rome."

Ohe, iam satis est.

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PAGANISM TO CHRISTIANITY

HYDE, WALTER WOODBURN, *Paganism to Christianity in the Roman Empire*: Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp. viii + 296. 1946.

THIS IS AN interesting summary of one of the most interesting periods of human life. There are seven chapters, an epilogue, and three excursions. The first three chapters are devoted to pre-Christian background, including discussions of primitive Roman religion, the state cult, mystery religions, philosophy, and Judaism. The fourth and fifth chapters are devoted respectively to the personality and teaching of Jesus, the last two to the growth and triumph of Christianity. The epilogue is interesting, but really extraneous to the subject of the book. It deals with the modern status of Judaism and Christianity. The three excursions are entitled respectively: The Origin of Christmas, Sunday Observance, and Was Peter at Rome?

The author accepts, usually without reserve, the conclusions of the criticism that modern historical study has developed in its investigation of the Jewish-Christian religious tradition. To those not prepared to accept this criticism his attitude will appear hostile. There are indications, however, that this is not the case, at least with regard to Christianity. He once uses "we" to include himself in the Christian movement. But he certainly is no slave "to a foolish consistency," for he both condemns Trinitarianism and says Unitarianism is not Christianity.

As for the Jews, though he first makes a commendable effort to do them justice, he finally adopts the traditional Christian attitude by advocating their abolition, mercifully self-inflicted, to be sure, by the process of assimilation.

He has a tendency to pass moral judgment on phenomena which might better be left to the preference of the reader, e.g., "Few re-

ligions have more falsely divided the godhead" (p. 11), and "their perverse art of divination" (p. 18).

The book is well documented, though in certain places the bibliography should be brought up to date and broadened to give a more balanced basis for discussion of controversial matters.

Because of numerous inaccuracies the reader must be cautious. A discussion is sometimes opened with an unguarded statement that is later qualified or contradicted. The attempt to summarize so much so briefly may be responsible for some of the questionable generalizations. In this connection the opinion may be ventured that the characterizations of the mystery religions sometimes seem overconfident.

Inaccuracies range all the way from giving Constantine credit for moving the center of administration to the east (pp. 4 and 183) to giving the wrong figure for the speed of light (p. 244). He speaks of Lucretius as having written for the common man, of "Wise-men" being translated "Magi," gives an untenably late date for the compilation of the Torah (p. 80); does not understand the pointing of YHWH (p. 80); says Jesus changed the Jewish concept of God as Father "by replacing Yahweh with a God of love" (p. 147); that "the early Church knew nothing of such an idea as the infallibility of the Old Testament" (p. 106); that the Old Testament is translated *diatheke* in the Septuagint (p. 103, footnote). Such a concept as Old Testament is, of course, foreign to the Old Testament. The term "covenant" does not refer to a collection of books.

The author falls into a somewhat natural and prevalent error of trying to eat his cake and still have it, in that he seriously questions the historicity of much of the Gospel materials, especially in John, and still builds arguments

on Johannine sayings of Jesus.

He is particularly prone to error in that terra incognita, the Orthodox Church, stating that each of the thirteen branches has its services in its own language (p. 231); confuses the Orthodox with the Lesser Eastern Churches (p. 230); continues the ancient error of calling the Church of the Holy Wisdom "St. Sophia," etc., etc. His statement that in the Greek Church the priests recite the Bible from memory and do not preach sermons is about as contrary to what I have seen and

heard as is his saying that Christian sermons to this day dwell almost exclusively on ethics. But a further listing of such items would be invidious, and no one knows better than the present reviewer the humiliation of finding errors in a published book.

I am glad to have this book, from which I have gleaned a considerable list of interesting items.

J. MERLE RIFE

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CHRISTIANS AND PAGANS

MULLER, H., *Christians and Pagans from Constantine to Augustine. Part I: The Religious Policies of the Roman Emperors*: Pretoria, South Africa, Union Booksellers (Pty), Ltd. (1946). Pp. iv + 155. 14 s.

AN AUTHOR'S NOTE, in Dutch, explains that this work was offered, in 1943, as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Pretoria, and that it is written in English because the material was mostly collected in England, under the direction of an English Scholar.

The story of the end of paganism has been retold many times, the most useful modern works being those of V. Schultze (1887-1892), G. Boissier (1891), and J. Geffcken (1920). In this volume and its projected sequel (to be subtitled, "The Spiritual Conflict") Dr. Muller is offering us a new survey of the material. He explains his purpose (p. ii): "In this volume the more familiar aspects of the religious policies of the Roman Emperors will be dealt with summarily . . . while the less familiar ones will receive more careful attention. . . . Problems like the following will be investigated: the tardy progress of anti-pagan legislation, the obstacles and opposition by which the rulers were faced in their efforts to abolish the worship of the gods, and the seeming inconsistencies in the religious policies of the Christian Emperors. With regard to the relations between Christians and pagans it will be investigated how the triumph of Christianity affected the

pagans, whether they were persecuted or not, what resistance they offered to the government and the Christians who prohibited their worship and pulled down their shrines, why it was inevitable that in the final struggle the new faith should have been victorious over long established beliefs, how the victorious Christians behaved towards their former persecutors, whether they maintained the principle of universal religious freedom for which they had been clamoring during the persecutions, whether their actions always revealed a truly Christian spirit, etc."

This is a large order to be filled in a 150-page dissertation. The book is crowded with restatement of facts collected by Geffcken and his predecessors, to whom the reader is frequently referred for more details. Some items (e.g., p. 39, notes 2, 4) I do not find in Geffcken, but if these are new contributions to the topic, Muller gives no special indication of the fact. On the few occasions when controversial points are mentioned they are very briefly disposed of. Thus we are told (p. 25 f.) that Constantine was converted to Christianity shortly after the battle of the Mulvian bridge: his deeds and words show that he was religious, and political ambition could not have prompted an alliance with the despised minority. Again it is said (p. 128) that the "Christian State" of Theodosius "was doomed to failure, since Christianity contained elements which proved detrimental to the already declining Roman

Empire." Such propositions as these need more precise statement, and a defense which would go beyond the limits of this book.

Yet the book has its merits. The copious material seems adequately mastered, well arranged, fully documented, and free from rash conjecture. There is no single volume in

English which covers this field of religious history, hence this one might well be useful to orient American students in this fascinating epoch of cultural change.

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LINGUISTIC SCIENCE

STURTEVANT, EDGAR H., *An Introduction to Linguistic Science*: New Haven, Yale University Press (1947). Pp. viii, 173. \$3.00.

PROFESSOR STURTEVANT has here attempted an extremely difficult task. It is virtually impossible to compress into one volume of moderate size all the things which need to be treated. Moreover, to attempt to explain language by the written word alone is very difficult. Add to this the fact that the reader is likely to know absolutely nothing at all about the subject. In my opinion, the average reader will have a hard time of it, but through no fault of the author. As might be taken for granted, Sturtevant has made a noble try.

To show the scope of his undertaking, I list the chapter titles: Phonetics and Phonemics, The Relation of Writing to Speech, Records of Speech, The Origin of Language, Descriptive Linguistics, The Empirical Basis of Phonetic Laws, Why Are Phonetic Laws Regular?, Assimilation and Dissimilation, Analogic Creation, Processes Sometimes Confused with Analogic Creation, Change of Vocabulary, Change of Meaning, Borrowing, The Comparative Method.

There is no need here to list suggestions and corrections of a technical nature since anyone who wants to go into detail of this kind may find a list in Roland G. Kent's review of the book in the *Classical Weekly* 41:216-219.

Suffice it to say that no teacher of language, or other person interested in the subject, who reads this book carefully can fail to emerge the better for it, though I fear that most such readers will find it hard going in

places. It abounds in examples of usage overheard in ordinary speech, usages which well illustrate the tendency of speakers toward simplification of sounds, analogical formations, etc. Sturtevant's gibes at the pedantic influences which have influenced spellings are witty and barbed, as are his comments on textbooks. One cannot agree with him that spelling ought to be allowed to run riot; it is too late for that! But here, as well as elsewhere in the book, I wish he had used his illustrations to get down to the most basic fundamentals of language. For instance he might here have driven home the fact that people are so tied to the written word that they regard it as the proper source from which to reason. He ought to have pointed out that when anyone says, "You can't pronounce it that way, it isn't spelled that way!" he is talking the most arrant nonsense. Here is the place to show that teachers have committed and still commit the error of saying, for example, that t is "pronounced" thus and so. He shows (11) that the symbol t merely calls for an articulation of one kind or another. Native speakers of English, in response to this symbol, put the tongue against the gums of the upper teeth; the native speaker of French puts his tongue against the teeth themselves. This by no stretch of the imagination can properly be called "pronouncing" and it is this kind of thing which I feel must first be explained to anyone who wants to study language as language.

Sturtevant properly makes much of the scientific approach, and here is a good time to make the most of it. Granted that t, a symbol, calls for an articulation, then we find that

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church begins with *t*; also that *much* has a *t* in it (quite as much as *clutch* or *hutch* which are "spelled that way"). From here a consideration of the whole system of symbols would be in order; how *u* is frequently a consonant, as in *quick*, *suave*, *guava*; how *judge* begins with *d*, and so forth.

When such things as these are learned, the beginner is in a much better position to go ahead with more advanced matters such as those which Sturtevant treats. The fact is that teachers of language, and others who have studied languages, have never known anything at all about language, *per se*.

Sturtevant gives this definition: "A language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by which members of a social group cooperate and interact." Very good, but he uses the limiting term *vocal* "to exclude the human activities denoted by the phrases *gesture language*, *written language*, etc." (3) In view of the purpose of the book, which is to acquaint the beginner with the subject, I do not think he ought to exclude phenomena which are really an integral part of any system of communication. He points out that the things which he excludes do not behave in the same way as audible language. True enough, but for all that they are part of language. Moreover, a study of clicks, audible indeed, would make another good opportunity for introducing the beginner to a linguistic phenomenon which he probably never even thought of. Most speakers of English use three clicks, at least. The velar is commonly used to encourage animals to move on; the palatal might be called the click of disappointment or concern and it is often "spelled" *tsk-tsk* on something like that; the third is labial and imitates a kissing sound. All these, and in the speech of many whose native language is English, one or two more, are accepted vocal and audible methods of communication. Moreover, they pave the way for the all-important consideration of cultural relativity, a matter which properly concerns every student and teacher of language.

For example, we have a limited number of clicks conveying admittedly limited meaning. It can be shown that Hottentot has much

more highly developed uses of clicks. Hence, by the ridiculous reasoning which can sometimes be heard in language classes, Hottentot, having a more highly developed language, must emanate from a "higher" civilization (whatever that may be). All the rubbish about one language being easier to pronounce, or more highly developed in this way and that, ought to be dispensed with and any book on such a topic as this, in my opinion, ought to do its best to kill it. We have only one word for snow; Eskimos have three. Ergo, their civilization is more highly developed than ours because they can better express "shades of meaning" to use the standard hackneyed term.

Ignorance of cultural relativity and the fact that speakers of any language have developed and continue to develop their speech in accordance with normal needs and situations has caused many a bad blunder; especially when it is realized that "normal" means anything. There are four levels of pitch normal to English. So we find teachers of a foreign language reading aloud with four levels of pitch knowing no better than to suppose that because they are "normal" for him they must be so for others. The French teacher may dramatize the words *au revoir* with the gesture of farewell which happens to be peculiar to him, as a native speaker of English. The fact that this gesture would be ridiculous for a Frenchman in such circumstances is unknown to him. He supposes that people point with their fingers because that is his own bizarre habit; many people point with the chin. He reads all questions in any foreign tongue with a rising inflection at the end, little knowing that this is only his native habit and probably is not shared by most people on earth.

These are the kinds of considerations which I consider vital in conditioning the tyro for a study of more advanced aspects of linguistic science. One excellent feature of the book is a map and a description of linguistic geography. For one who understands cultural relativity as applied to language and speech habits, the variant pronunciations of the same words in various parts of an area will mean more.

The appearance of this book is indeed a hopeful sign; little or nothing has been done to bring to the attention of the educated public the facts about linguistic science. Sturtevant's contribution is only another

example of the eminent position in this field which American scholars occupy.

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William Penn Charter School

LATE LATIN SYNTAX

NORBERG, DAG, *Beiträge zur spätlateinischen Syntax* (Arbeten utgivna med understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond, 51): Uppsala, Almqvist (1947). Pp. 135. Kr. 7.

THE AUTHOR does not set out to prove anything definite. The study claims to be only what its title would lead us to believe—contributions to an historical grammar of Late Latin syntax which will one day be written.

The scope of the work may be indicated by a glance at the chapter headings: Accusative of Specification, Mixture of Active and Passive modes of Expression (*Ausdrucksweise*), Use of the Accusative as the Subject-Case, Use of the Genitive, Use of *vim*, *rem*, Place-names in *polim*, Participles *suprascriptus*, *praedictus*, *praesens*, as Demonstratives, Combinations of Prepositions with Adverbs and Other Prepositions.

Chronicles, Saints' lives, charters, acts of Church councils, letters, legal documents, as well as literary texts from the fourth to the ninth century furnish the material for this volume. Since the treatment is historical, some reference is made to Early and Classical Latin usage on the one hand and to later developments in the Romance languages on the other.

There is a warning implicit in these pages against the temerity of would-be emenders of texts who rush in to edit Late Latin authors without a sufficient knowledge of the usage of the period. The author points out a good many instances to show where readings were made to conform to classical standards. Later syntactic investigations have shown such procedure to be invalid, especially when upon

re-examination of the manuscript evidence it was found that the tradition was in favor of the forms which we should expect in Late Latin.

While a chapter is not expressly devoted to the Kanzlei-sprache, there are frequent references to its influence upon Late Latin. This is especially true in the use of the participles *suprascriptus*, *praedictus*, *praesens*, etc. in place of the demonstrative pronouns. The practice began in the imperial chanceries, spread to the ecclesiastical courts, and strongly influenced the literary language. The diction of Dante is witness to the fact that some of these expressions were inherited in Romance. Throughout this study the evidence is presented without any attempt to rationalize the new developments, but reference is generally made to earlier and later literature to show that the syntax of Late Latin was a logical development which was further influenced by the popular language.

In conclusion it may be said that Prof. Norberg is working in the tradition begun at Uppsala by Löfstedt's *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (911) and in his own *Syntaktische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete des Spätlateins und des frühen Mittellateins* (1943). This work, for one, is singularly free of typographic errors and contains full bibliography and indices. Students of Late Latin will find it useful for its convenient pigeon-holing of a vast amount of interesting linguistic material.

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—Next month:

"GREEK AND ROMAN HOUSEHOLD PETS"

by Francis D. Lazenby

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YALE CLASSICAL STUDIES

LUTZ, CORA E., *Musonius Rufus "The Roman Socrates"*; JOSEPH P. MAGUIRE, *Plato's Theory of Natural Law*; ELIZABETH H. GILBERT, *The Archives of the Temple of Soknobrais at Bacchias* (Yale Classical Studies, Vol. 10): New Haven, Yale University Press (1947). Pp. 281. \$4.00.

GAIUS MUSONIUS RUFUS, born to the equestrian order, probably before 30 A.D., had his *floruit* in the time of Nero; by whom, as later by Vespasian, he was exiled, being finally recalled by his friend Titus. In intervals of political calm, he taught the Stoic philosophy at Rome in Greek. He was a public figure of great courage, as several incidents, apocryphal and otherwise, attest. His death came before 101.

Though he left no writings, his teachings are represented by two collections: one by an unidentified Lucius, whose work (as of a lesser Xenophon, "transforming . . . vivid discussion . . . into conventionalized essays"—p. 12) is partly preserved in Stobaeus; the other by a Pollio (Annius rather than Valerius, as Miss Lutz believes), of actual utterances of Musonius. The author quotes with approval, at the end of note 31, from T. Colardeau, "Isolated expressions, transmitted directly under his name, . . . give evidence of more vivacity and flair for the picturesque" than does what is reported by Lucius. From reading these, the reviewer gains the same impression.

The Xenophontic character of Lucius' account is obvious. For instance, 112.8-10 seems to come directly from *Memorabilia* 1.6.5. (inexpensive, easily acquired food to be preferred). Apart from such parallels, however, the commonplace tone of Lucius, beside whom Xenophon is relatively subtle, speaks for itself. On the other hand, since Musonius is called "the Roman Socrates," I venture to call attention to correspondences with, and probable borrowings from, Plato. To justify this, let me say that I believe we have actual evidence on the moot question, whether Plato's or Xenophon's Socrates is more nearly the historical man. We have the works

of Plato, which show him to be a provocative thinker of cosmic dimensions. If Socrates had been the relatively ordinary and tedious person Xenophon makes him out to be, he could never have made the profound and definitive impression he obviously made on the brilliant Plato.

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As for the main thesis: at first blush, Musonius—rich, given to political action, concerned with practical applications of philosophy in preference to theory, recommending rustic life, making light of exile—seems not very like the poor Socrates, a "consecrated loafer" (Forman) abstaining from politics, preoccupied with philosophi-

The appearance of this book is indeed a hopeful sign; little or nothing has been done to bring to the attention of the educated public the facts about linguistic science. Sturtevant's contribution is only another

example of the eminent position in this field which American scholars occupy.

JOHN F. GUMMERE
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LATE LATIN SYNTAX

NORBERG, DAG, *Beiträge zur spätslateinischen Syntax* (Arbeten utgivna med understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond, 51): Uppsala, Almqvist (1947). Pp. 135. Kr. 7.

THE AUTHOR does not set out to prove anything definite. The study claims to be only what its title would lead us to believe—contributions to an historical grammar of Late Latin syntax which will one day be written.

The scope of the work may be indicated by a glance at the chapter headings: Accusative of Specification, Mixture of Active and Passive modes of Expression (Ausdrucksweise), Use of the Accusative as the Subject-Case, Use of the Genitive, Use of *vim*, *rem*, Place-names in *-polim*, Participles *suprascriptus*, *praedictus*, *praesens*, as Demonstratives, Combinations of Prepositions with Adverbs and Other Prepositions.

Chronicles, Saints' lives, charters, acts of Church councils, letters, legal documents, as well as literary texts from the fourth to the ninth century furnish the material for this volume. Since the treatment is historical, some reference is made to Early and Classical Latin usage on the one hand and to later developments in the Romance languages on the other.

There is a warning implicit in these pages against the temerity of would-be emenders of texts who rush in to edit Late Latin authors without a sufficient knowledge of the usage of the period. The author points out a good many instances to show where readings were made to conform to classical standards. Later syntactic investigations have shown such procedure to be invalid, especially when upon

re-examination of the manuscript evidence it was found that the tradition was in favor of the forms which we should expect in Late Latin.

While a chapter is not expressly devoted to the Kanzlei-sprache, there are frequent references to its influence upon Late Latin. This is especially true in the use of the participles *suprascriptus*, *praedictus*, *praesens*, etc. in place of the demonstrative pronouns. The practice began in the imperial chanceries, spread to the ecclesiastical courts, and strongly influenced the literary language. The diction of Dante is witness to the fact that some of these expressions were inherited in Romance. Throughout this study the evidence is presented without any attempt to rationalize the new developments, but reference is generally made to earlier and later literature to show that the syntax of Late Latin was a logical development which was further influenced by the popular language.

In conclusion it may be said that Prof. Norberg is working in the tradition begun at Uppsala by Löfstedt's *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (911) and in his own *Syntaktische Forschungen auf den Gebiete des Spätlateins und des frühen Mittellateins* (1943). This work, for one, is singularly free of typographic errors and contains full bibliography and indices. Students of Late Latin will find it useful for its convenient pigeon-holing of a vast amount of interesting linguistic material.

ROBERT T. MEYER
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—Next month—

"GREEK AND ROMAN HOUSEHOLD PETS"

by Francis D. Lazenby

YALE CLASSICAL STUDIES

LUTZ, CORA E., *Musonius Rufus "The Roman Socrates"*; JOSEPH P. MAGUIRE, *Plato's Theory of Natural Law*; ELIZABETH H. GILLIAM, *The Archives of the Temple of Soknobraisis at Bacchias* (Yale Classical Studies, Vol. 10); New Haven, Yale University Press (1947). Pp. 281. \$4.00.

GAIUS MUSONIUS RUFUS, born to the equestrian order, probably before 30 A.D., had his *floruit* in the time of Nero; by whom, as later by Vespasian, he was exiled, being finally recalled by his friend Titus. In intervals of political calm, he taught the Stoic philosophy at Rome in Greek. He was a public figure of great courage, as several incidents, apocryphal and otherwise, attest. His death came before 101.

Though he left no writings, his teachings are represented by two collections: one by an unidentified Lucius, whose work (as of a lesser Xenophon, "transforming . . . vivid discussion . . . into conventionalized essays"—p. 12) is partly preserved in Stobaeus; the other by a Pollio (Annius rather than Valerius, as Miss Lutz believes), of actual utterances of Musonius. The author quotes with approval, at the end of note 31, from T. Colardeau, "Isolated expressions, transmitted directly under his name, . . . give evidence of more vivacity and flair for the picturesque" than does what is reported by Lucius. From reading these, the reviewer gains the same impression.

The Xenophontic character of Lucius' account is obvious. For instance, 112.8–10 seems to come directly from *Memorabilia* 1.6.5. (inexpensive, easily acquired food to be preferred). Apart from such parallels, however, the commonplace tone of Lucius, beside whom Xenophon is relatively subtle, speaks for itself. On the other hand, since Musonius is called "the Roman Socrates," I venture to call attention to correspondences with, and probable borrowings from, Plato. To justify this, let me say that I believe we have actual evidence on the moot question, whether Plato's or Xenophon's Socrates is more nearly the historical man. We have the works

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cal theory, fond of city life, regarding exile as worse for him than death. What to say about Musonius' interest in details of food, clothing, tonsure, furniture, conjugal felicity, and obedience to parents, depends on whether we read Plato or Xenophon for the picture of Socrates.

But, when Philostratus, Origen, and Julian are impressed with the similarity; when Pliny and Fronto speak highly of him, and we know that Epictetus was his pupil; when modern scholars like Hirzel and Miss Lutz vote for this juxtaposition, and Arnold, in *Roman Stoicism*, rates him as the third founder of Stoicism; we come to realize that, as a great personality and in terms of personal influence, Musonius could in some degree parallel Socrates. It is also a fact that he made some simple use of the Socratic method in teaching Stoicism, and resorted occasionally to definition of terms.

Miss Lutz has followed, in the main, the text of Hense. Her translation is competent and smooth. I wondered about 'arrogance' for *πλεονεξία* (40.28), the corresponding verb being better turned by 'selfishness and greed' in 52.18. Is it 'love' fairness, in 52.18, or 'be content with' it? *ἐπιεικής* means, in Plato anyway, rather 'promising, superior' than 'reasonable' (68.19). In 68.30, for "cultivation of the things that are one's own," read 'self-cultivation.' A very few points these, in a translation of such length. At that, the real labor by comparison must have been the learned introduction of twenty-eight pages. The sources of the text for each passage are listed on pages 146-147.

Finally, what Musonius lost in the reporting may be suggested by this eloquent and epigrammatic quotation from his own words (144. 7-9). "If one accomplishes some good, though with toil, the toil passes, but the good remains; if one does something dishonorable with pleasure, the pleasure passes, but the dishonor remains."

Plato's Natural Law

The effort to summarize Mr. Maguire's abstruse and already condensed paper is all but foredoomed to failure, even though I

omit the essential harmony of Plato's theory of natural law throughout the several dialogues—with which the author is much concerned.

The political and the social being the same to Plato, law equals morality, legislation equals society. The author distinguishes proximate theory and an ultimate one. Under the former, a reasoned ideal, knowledge, is the criterion, only laws conforming to the being really such. "A right law is one which makes the state morally virtuous" (154).

Human nature (even animal nature in man) butts of Callicles' appeal to jungle law becomes a criterion. This is "the innate ability of every man to do one particular job better than another," "economic specialization or function" which constitutes justice (156). In refutation of Callicles' hedonistic defense of the Superman, disparaging self-control and justice in favor of his brand of courage and intelligence, Plato answers with the concept of *réxyn*, that every art is judged by its efficiency in benefiting the direct objects of its effort. Whether in the individual soul or in society, such benefit takes the form of orderliness. Virtue is not the ability of the stronger to have his way, but "that condition of anything which enables it to perform its specific function with maximal efficiency" (158).

As we turn to the ultimate theory, the cosmos becomes a criterion for society. In both, sharing, friendship, order, self-restraint, justice unify the whole. Whether the connotations of this are religious, political, or scientific, will not matter too much. But, at best, the bearing of macrocosm on microcosm is by analogy, and causality is absent.

The Forms (ultimately that of the Good) have more stable content than has the universe concept, each being one and the direct cause of the truth and value of its particulars. There is a more direct connection between Forms and the human soul than between the cosmos and the soul. "The Forms of ethical-political ideals are, equally with other Forms, causes of their particulars in the epistemological and logical senses, and, more obviously

than other forms, in the axiological sense" (165).

Against atheistic, materialistic evolution, Plato argues that mind is primary, not (as alleged) derivative as an epiphenomenon of nature. This means that mind itself exists by nature. Further, whereas physical motion cannot be explained if mechanical causality is regarded as ultimate; mind, as self-moved, becomes anterior to matter. In fact, Anaxagoras had said that mind moves all; and then, according to the *Phaedo*, had not followed up his thesis but went off into behavioristic psychology. "Rational soul . . . is the transcendent cause of our cosmos" (170).

Mind (primary principle, nature), on the one hand, connects somewhat vaguely with *τίχην, νόμος*, Right, on the other. It had been, not so much the cosmos, as the reality behind the cosmos, which had been the earlier criterion. Forms and Mind are, respectively, the objective and subjective aspects of the Absolute. In the *Philebus*, causation imposed limit on the unlimited. The Good, even God, are on the side of limitation. Purpose implies a purposive Mind; by teleology, a Divine Craftsman, the Demiurge of the *Timaeus*, having in view the good of the whole.

Not too mystically, we come to the approximation (if not identity) of the ideals of rulers to the transcendental Form of Good. Plato, in the *Laws*, may waver a little in his optimism; and recommend that rulers study and imitate the heavens, the "visible God." He may fall back on human nature, the common conviction of good and wise men. But the Forms are still there; and divine and human craftsman operate by the same *τίχην*. Past the dianoetic, we aim at the noetic. The cosmos, the forms and mind behind that, or human nature working by division of labor toward the efficiency of a *τίχην* shared with God for the good of the whole—the criterion of natural law is somehow functionally one.

Temple of Soknobrais

Of Miss Gilliam's study, there is not space nor have I the competence for more than a brief notice. She presents twenty-five papyri,

for the most part with description, text, translation, and commentary, supplemented by elaborate indices and five plates. Nine are temple reports, ten receipts for such, four represent efforts of priests to gain privileges as to labor on the dikes, and two are of uncertain content.

Soknobrais is a second crocodile god discovered, papyri mentioning him dating from the first half of the first century A.D. to 212. Possibly a third such god was worshipped in the same temple.

"Egyptian temples . . . suffered a loss of power and wealth when Egypt came under the control of the Romans" (186). The number of priests varied, and their ages from thirteen to eighty-seven. The temples were required to submit an annual report on the number of priests and the inventory of the temples. Each priest must pay a certain fee, and there were fines for infractions of government rules.

The priests complain that they are required to perform labor on the dikes far away from Baccias, but do not ask complete exemption, though some claimed freedom from working in person. That is, they might pay a tax in lieu of work or hire villagers in their place. The irrigation system was, of course, of great importance. The conciliatory attitude of the Roman government toward the priests was motivated by a highly successful revolt engineered by priests, in which Alexandria was almost captured.

One of the less fragmentary and not merely formulaic papyri, addressed to the strategos, reads in part as follows: "Since it is the custom for us not to be taken away to work on the dikes in other places, except on the canal of Patsontis from which comes water to irrigate the fields of the village and to fill the basins below it, but now the ekboleus who was appointed by the aigialophylax is forcing us to work in other places far away from the village, contrary to custom, we ask you, if it so pleases you, to order him to stop this outrageous treatment of us, so that we may work in the usual places near the village and be able to perform each day the ceremonies of the gods, made for the preservation

of our lord the Emperor Aurelius Antoninus Caesar and on behalf of a full rise of the most holy Nile, in order that we may obtain relief."

The proof-reading by the authors and the editor was so effective that I noticed only one

misprint, 'Gallicles' for 'Callicles' in note 34 page 162. The volume as a whole is of a high grade of scholarship and editing.

CLYDE MURLEY

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THE WISDOM OF SOPHOCLES

SHEPPARD, J. T., *The Wisdom of Sophocles* (The Interpreter Series, vol. 5): London, Allen & Unwin, New York, the Macmillan Co. (1947). Pp. 76. \$1.50.

IN THIS READABLE and suggestive essay the Provost of King's College, Cambridge, has tried to sum up the thought of Sophoclean tragedy. The work forms volume five of a series on living thought, which appears to be addressed to the educated but non-professional reader. In general, Mr. Sheppard has performed his task well, although this favorable verdict is subject to the usual qualifications and reservations which a conscientious reviewer must always record.

The first chapter, "The Happy Artist," is a charming picture of Sophocles' life, somewhat sentimental in spots, most eclectic in its use of sources, but none the less just about what the average reader would like to know about the poet. Of the chapters on the plays themselves, the treatment of the *Ajax* (II), the *Trachiniae* (III), and the *Antigone* (V) are the fullest and best. Mr. Sheppard believes that the *Ajax* was deeply influenced by the final scene of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* with its stress on discretion and *sophrosyne*: "When the grey-eyed goddess speaks, we shall do well to listen, remembering that what Athena claims from her Athenians is, first and last, that, with due reverence, they should keep their wits about them." In true Homeric spirit, the Sophoclean play honors both Ajax and Odysseus, who delivers the final verdict: "This man was our noblest, save Achilles." Ajax's fault of sublime self-confidence and overweening self-reliance leads him to self-delusion and finally to self-destruction. Athena, although she intervenes to save him from the greater sins of treachery and mur-

der, will not save him from the consequences of his own pride. The audience sees Ajax first at his worst; yet, like Odysseus, we pity him, and the progress of the drama gradually restores his heroic stature. He is neither blamed nor hated by the gods, and so they raise him up again to honor.

Heracles in the *Trachiniae* falls a victim to his own lust, as Ajax fell through pride; but here the problem is complicated by the figure of Deianeira. Mr. Sheppard seems to feel that Deianeira has loved not wisely, perhaps not even too well; she falls short of the Athenian ideal of "Love with Wisdom" and Sophocles has deliberately refused to soften her tragedy by any comforting or sympathetic words for her at the end of the drama. It is suggested that this ideal of "Love with Wisdom" had recently been discovered by Sophocles himself, "perhaps with tears"; and, if I understand Mr. Sheppard correctly (for the essay is filled with half-expressed, half-suppressed suggestions like this), he believes that the famous anecdote in the *Republic* about Sophocles' escape from the tyranny of sensual love is somehow connected with this experience in the poet's life.

Interpretation of Antigone

CHAPTER IV, "The Tragedy of Athens," discusses the approach of the spiritual crisis in the history of Athens, with the spread of imperialistic ideas and the sophistic doctrines of *machtpolitik*. Mr. Sheppard believes that Sophocles saw the signs of the gathering storm as early as 441 B.C., and that the *Antigone* was written as a warning. The famous "Ode on Man" (of which we get an excellent verse translation) must be read in its context: it is not a "Humanist's Manifest" but "a dia-

matic meditation by a group of honest, puzzled (Theban) citizens, on the precarious hold men have, in spite of all their cleverness. . . . on life and liberty and happiness." In the end, the chorus pins its faith on the law of the city-state, on loyal patriotism:

Whoso hath sworn by the Justice of God and the laws of the land
 And hath honored the oath, he shall stand and his city stand.
 Whoso doth evil in spite of the law—he hath chosen his part.
 No city hath he, no portion be his in my counsel, my household, my heart.

This is all good Athenian, or Periclean doctrine, but Sophocles does not think it enough; and this is the main theme of the *Antigone*.

A fairly full and good analysis of the play follows, with many suggestive points. E.g., after discussing Antigone's famous appeal to the Unwritten Law, the author points out: "Antigone's high intuition is the fruit and sequel, not the cause, of her unselfish impulse, her defiant act of love. In the Prologue it was evident that her resolve sprang from an impulse of pure love, not from a calculation or a sense of duty to the family, or even from a religious scruple. Simply, she was a sister and she loved. That was enough." This discovery of love in her nature was the high point in her experience, and in her final scene, feeling herself alone and deserted, bewildered and puzzled, she casts about in a somewhat fumbling way for a rational justification for her action. For this reason Sheppard accepts the doubtful passage in lines 905-913 as genuine. "The greatness of Sophocles is nowhere more apparent than in this last phase of her tragic pilgrimage in which she seems to drift in a strange wilderness of doubt and sorrow, without faith in gods or men or in herself, yet keeps the beauty of a spirit which in darkness fumbles for the light. . . ." All in all, this chapter on the *Antigone* reveals Mr. Sheppard's interpretative criticism at its best.

Other Plays

The *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Electra* share one short chapter (5 pages): was the author tiring, or running short of available space? Mr.

Sheppard points out that Oedipus in Sophocles is not punished for his sins; he is "entangled not by sin, but circumstances, and even by his own virtues"; with Mr. Bowra he stresses the value of self-revelation and the greatness of Oedipus in his acceptance of his fall. It is somewhat hard to accept the statement on the place of the gods in this tragedy—"His gods stand for the universe of circumstance as it is"—unless we are meant to take the word "circumstance" in a somewhat unusual sense. The *Electra* is dismissed in less than a page, although we are referred to two previous articles by the author in *Classical Quarterly* and *Classical Review*. (One wonders if the readers of this series will go and look them up.)

In the final chapter, "The Last Stage of the Pilgrimage," the *Philoctetes* is dismissed "as no tragedy . . . in something of the same sense as the latest plays of Shakespeare, a romance"—a view with which this reviewer profoundly disagrees. Nor can I accept happily the statement that its central theme is friendship. The *Oedipus Coloneus* gets a fuller treatment, on conventional lines, and we are treated to some of Mr. Sheppard's best essays at verse-translations (the "Ode on Colonus" and the "Ode on Old Age").

I have summarized the contents of this work at some length because I feel that this is the only fair method of showing both the merits and the shortcomings of Mr. Sheppard's treatment. A few minor criticisms might be mentioned in passing here: the unwary modern reader will probably be misled by the statement that in Periclean Athens "there was scope for happy intercourse of men and women"; of course there was, but not in the sense in which we moderns would define "happy intercourse." And it is surely going too far to say that "slaves in Athens looked and talked and walked like gentlemen" (italics mine). In the analysis of the *Antigone* Mr. Sheppard would seem to suggest that the first burial of Polyneices was possibly—just possibly—the doing of the gods; but Antigone's reported words (427-428) when she saw the body swept clean of dust make it clear that she had already performed the rites once.

Finally, it is perhaps a bit fanciful to suggest that the picture of Theseus in the *Oedipus Coloneus* was a tribute to the memory of Cimon, who had died over forty years before.

Despite such questionable details, the essay has great penetration and charm. Mr. Sheppard's main object is to reject the picture of Sophocles as a "poet of the Ivory Tower," a mastercraftsman without deep and sincere religious insights. Starting with an Aeschylean conception of heaven and of Athens as Athena's special care, Sophocles lived through the years of Athens' excessive prosperity and through the terrible Peloponnesian War with ever-deepening insight but without despair. From this point of view, according to Mr. Sheppard, the plays record a "spiritual pilgrimage," in which the Sophoclean vision of life was enriched, ennobled, and clarified. Even though the author leaves us somewhat in the dark as to the precise nature and goal of this pilgrimage, the serious student of Sophocles as well as the casual reader will find much to reward him in this sympathetic study of Sophoclean thought.

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Check List of Recent Books

Compiled by Lionel Casson and George A. Yanitelli of New York University and including books received at the Editorial Office.

I. ANCIENT AUTHORS

Aeschylus. EARP, F. R. The Style of Aeschylus. 175 pages. Macmillan, New York 1948 \$3.00.

Ammianus Marcellinus. DE JONGE, P. Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus, xv. 1-5. 129 pages. Wolters, Groningen 1948 5.90 gldrs.

Boethius. DRAAK, M. A Leyden Boethius-fragment with Old-Irish glosses. 14 pages. Noord-Hollandsche U.M., Amsterdam (Mededelingen der Kon. Ned. akademie van wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde. Nieuwe reeks, 11.3.) .80 gldr.

Euripides. ZÜRCHER, WALTER. Die Darstellung des

Menschen im Drama des Euripides. xii + 197 pages. Reinhardt, Basel 1947 12.50 Swiss fr.

Herodotus. See PAAP below under 7.

Homer. BEAUJON, EDMOND. Acte et passion du héros. Essai sur l'actualité d'Homère. 232 pages. La Baconnière, Neuchâtel 1948 7.50 Swiss fr. (Doctoral Dissertation).

Homer. KERR, GEORGE. Homer's Odyssey. 225 pages. ill. Lunn, London 1948 8s. 6d.

Homer. MIREAUX, EMILE. Les poèmes homériques et l'histoire grecque. 384 pages. Michel, Paris 1948 (Coll. Les chefs d'œuvre et l'histoire) 360 fr.

Homer. RÜEGG, AUGUST. Kunst und Menschlichkeit Homers. 160 pages. Benziger, Einseideln 1948 6s. Swiss fr.

Horace. WILI, WALTER. Horaz und die augusteische Kultur. 414 pages. Schwabe, Basel 1948 28 Swiss fr.

New Testament. LYONS, WILLIAM NELSON and MERRILL, M. PARVIS. New Testament Literature: An annotated bibliography. Vol. 1, 406 pages. University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1948 \$4.00.

New Testament. OSTY, C. E. Les évangiles synoptiques. lxvi + 320 pages. Siloë, Paris 1948 320 fr.

Plato. DICKINSON, G. LOWES. Plato and His Dialogues. 139 pages. Penguin, London 1948 1s. 6d.

Plato. VICTOR GOLDSCHMIDT, Le paradigme dans la dialectique platonicienne. 144 pages. Presses Universitaire de France, Paris 1948 150 fr.

Plato. GOLDSCHMIDT, VICTOR. Les dialogues de Platon. xii, 376 pages. Presses Universitaire de France, Paris 1948 400 fr.

Plato. LODGE, R. C. Plato's Theory of Education. 330 pages. Harcourt, New York 1948 \$5.00.

Plotinus. BREHIER, EMILE. La philosophie de Plotin. 231 pages. Domat-Montchrestien, Paris 1948 180 fr.

Quintilian. AUSTIN, R. G. Quintilianni Institutionis Oratoria Liber XII. 246 pages. Oxford, London 1948 1s. 6d.

Seneca. GRIMAL, PIERRE. Sénèque. 164 pages. Presses Universitaire de France, Paris 1948 100 fr.

Sophocles. STERREN, H. A. VAN DER. De lotgevallen van Koning Oedipus volgende van treuerspelen van Sophocles. Een psychologische studie. 142 pages. Sheldene & Holkema, Amsterdam 1948 5.25 gldrs.

Theophrastus. BOCHENSKI, O. P. La logique de Théophraste. Librairie univ. de France, Paris 1948 600 fr.

Vergil. BLONK, A. G. Vergilius en het landschap. 248 pages. Wolters, Groningen 1948 5.90 gldrs.

Vergil. TILLY, BERTHA. Vergil's Latinum. 123 pages, ill. Blackwell, London 1947 15s.

Xenophon. LUCCIONI, J. Les idées politiques et sociales de Xenophon. 312 pages. Belles Lettres, Paris 1948 (Coll. Études anciennes) 400 fr.

Xenophon. ROUSE, W. H. D. The March Up Country. A translation of Xenophon's Anabasis into plain English. 240 pages. Nelson, London 1948 12s. 6d.

II. LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM

Cagnac, GEORGES. Petite histoire de la littérature latine. iv + 136 pages. Presses universitaires de France 1948 fr. 160.

Clark, DONALD LEMAN. John Milton at St. Paul's

School:
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MARROU,
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School: A study of ancient rhetoric in English Renaissance education. 279 pages, map. Columbia University Press, New York 1948 \$3.50.

RABINOWITCH, MELITTA. Der Delphin in Sage und Mythos der Griechen. 40 pages, 4 plates. Hyperion-Verlag, Dornach-Basel 1947 6.00 Swiss fr.

THOMSON, J. A. K. The Classical Background of English Literature. 272 pages. Macmillan, New York 1948 \$3.50.

3. LINGUISTICS, GRAMMAR, METRICS

CORNER, A. Les débuts dell'hexamètre latin. Ennius. 94 pages. Vrin, Paris 1947 100 fr.

DILL, A. M. The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama. 220 pages. Macmillan, New York 1948 \$4.00.

GNOULT, PIERRE. La formation des langues romanes. 128 pages. Casterman, Paris 1948 264 fr.

SHAW, L. Grammaire latine complète. 372 pages. Lanore, Paris 1947 195 fr.

4. HISTORY, SOCIAL STUDIES

BEN, MARCU. Heritage of Byzantium. 108 pages, ill. Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, London 1947 8s. 6d.

BORDON, GEORGE. Pillar of Fire: Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra. 320 pages. McBride, New York 1948 \$1.00.

BURN, ANDREW ROBERT. Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic Empire. 310 pages, map. Macmillan, New York 1948 \$2.00.

EDAN, CONSTANCE. Epaminondas. 96 pages, ill. Collins, London 1948 1s. 9d.

FOTER, GENEVIEVE. Augustus Caesar's world: A Story of Ideas and Events from B.C. 44 to A.D. 14. 330 pages, ill. Scribners, London 1948 15s.

GARDNER, A. H. Ancient Egyptian Onomastica. Vol. I, 215 pages; Vol. II, 324 pages; Vol. III, xxvi plates. Oxford University Press, London 1947 3 vols. with plates 6 ds., without plates 5 ss.

GASOROVIC, FERDINAND. The Ghetto and the Jews of Rome. Translated by MOSES HADAS. 120 pages. Schocken Books, New York 1948 \$1.50.

GROSE-HODGE, H. Roman Panorama; a Background for Today. 278 pages, ill., maps, diagrs. Macmillan, New York 1947 \$2.88.

GUILLON, PIERRE. La Béotie antique. 120 pages, 32 plates, map. Belles Lettres, Paris 1948 (Coll. Le monde hellénique) 650 fr.

HILBRUNNEN, OTTO. Umfassend die griechisch-romische Welt von ihren Anfängen bis zum Beginn des Mittelalters. 534 pages. Franke, Bern 1946 (8s. 75).

HUAU, LÉON. Le siècle d'or de l'empire romain. Fayard, Paris 1947 350 fr.

LUCCIONI, J. Hiéron. 110 pages. Belles Lettres, Paris 1948 (Coll. Études anciennes) 200 fr.

MARRO, H. I. Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité. 560 pages. du Seuil, Paris 1948 600 fr.

MARTI, ORRO. Die Völker West- und Mittel-Europas im Altertum. xii+259 pages, ill., maps. Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, Baden-Baden 1947

MEDEEDELINGEN VAN HET NEDERLANDSCH HISTORISCH INSTITUT TE ROME. 3^e reeks, Dl. 4: liii+169 pages; 3^e reeks, Dl. 5: xc+135 pages. Nijhoff, The Hague 1948 525 gldrs. each.

MEER, P. VAN DER. The Ancient Chronology of Western Asia and Egypt. 71 pages. Brill, Leyden, 1947 (Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui, 2) 7.50 gldrs.

PERRET, JACQUES. Latin et culture. Desclée de Brouwer, Paris 1948 300 fr.

PRITCHETT, W. and O. NEUGEBAUER. The Calendars of Athens. xi, 115 pages. Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1947 \$5.00.

QUINCHE, EUGÈNE. Les Helvètes. Divico contre César (109 à 52 av. J.-C.). 195 pages, 3 maps. Payot, Paris 1948 420 fr.

ROBINSON, CYRIL EDWARD. Hellas: A short history of Ancient Greece. 201 pages, ill., map. Pantheon, New York 1948 \$3.00.

ROOS, A. G. Aard en beteekenis van het Hellenisme. 24 pages. Wolters, Groningen 1947 .90 gldrs.

SCHILLER, FRIEDRICH VON. Die Gesetzgebung des Lykurgus und Solon. 96 pages. Liechtenstein-Verlag, Vaduz 1946 4.80 Swiss fr.

STEWART, CECIL. Byzantine Legacy. 201 pages, ill. Allen and Unwin, London 1947 25s.

WAGENVOORT, H. Roman Dynamism. 214 pages. Blackwell, London 1948 15s.

WALTER, GERARD. La destruction de Carthage. 512 pages. Samogyi, Paris 1947 480 fr.

ZACHARIAS, H. C. E. Protohistory: An explicative account of the development of human thought from palaeolithic times to the Persian monarchy. 398 pages, ill. Herder, St. Louis 1948 \$4.00.

5. PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY

BARNES, ERNEST W. The Rise of Christianity. 356 pages. Longmans Green, New York 1948 \$4.00.

BOURKE, VERNON JOSEPH. St. Thomas and the Greek Moralists (Aquinas lecture 1947). 63 pages. Marquette University Press, Milwaukee 1948 \$1.50.

BURNS, CECIL DELISLE. The First Europe: A study of the Establishment of Medieval Christendom, A.D. 400-800. 684 pages, ill., maps. Norton, New York 1948 \$7.50.

DEICHMANN, FRIEDRICH. Frühchristliche Kirchen in Rom. 100 pages, ill. Amerbach-Verlag, Basel 1948 32 Swiss fr.

EVERY, GEORGE. The Byzantine Patriarchate, 451-1204. 212 pages. Macmillan, New York 1948 \$3.00.

FRANKFORT, H. and H. A. JOHN A. WILSON, THORKILD JACOBSEN, WILLIAM A. IRWIN. The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man. Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East. viii, 402 pages. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1947 22s. 6d.

FRANKFORT, HENRI. Ancient Egyptian Religion: An interpretation. 188 pages. Columbia University Press, New York 1948 (American Council of Learned Societies, lectures on history of religions, no. 2) \$3.00.

GRAVES, ROBERT. The White Goddess. A Historical

- Grammar of Poetic Myth. xii, 312 pages. Creative Age Press, New York 1948 \$4.50.
- GRENIER, A., J. VENDRIES, and others. Les religions étrusque et romaine. Les religions des Celtes, des Germains et des anciens Slaves. iv + 468 pages. Presses Universitaire de France, Paris 1948 500 fr.
- HAMILTON, EDITH. Witness to the Truth. Christ and His Interpreters. 230 pages. Norton, New York 1948 \$3.00.
- LAROCHE, E. Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites. 141 pages. Maisonneuve, Paris 1948 400 fr.
- KRISTENSEN, W. B. Verzamelde bijdragen tot kennis der antieke godsdiensten. 314 pages. Noord-Hollandsche U. M., Amsterdam 1948 12 gldrs.
- NILSSON, MARTIN PERSSON. Greek Piety. Oxford, New York 1948 \$4.25.
- SAGNARD, F. M. M. La gnose valentinienne et la témoignage de saint Irénée. 668 pages. Vrin, Paris 1948 (Coll. Études de philosophie médicale) 1200 fr.
- 6. ARCHAEOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY**
- ANNUAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, Vol. 24, 1944-1945. Edited by Millar Burrows and E. A. Speiser. 300 pages, ill. American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven 1947 \$3.50.
- BREASTED, CHARLES. Pioneer to the Past: The Story of James Henry Breasted, Archaeologist. 408 pages. Jenkins, London 1947 15s.
- CENTRE NATIONAL DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE. Gallia. Fouilles et monuments archéologiques en France métropolitaine, T. V. Fasc. 1 (1947). 234 pages, ill. Ministère de l'éducation nationale, Paris 1200 fr.
- ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'ATHÈNES. Études d'archéologie et d'histoire grecques, vii, 653 pages, 31 plates. de Boccard, Paris 1947 1200 fr.
- ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE DE ROME. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, tome LVIII (1941-1946). 307 pages. de Boccard, Paris 1947 400 fr.
- FORRER, ROBERT. Die helvetischen und helveto-römischen Votivbeilchen der Schweiz. 76 pages, 8 plates. Institut für Urgeschichte, Basel 1948 (Schriften des Institutes für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Schweiz, 5) 12.75 Swiss fr.
- LOD, LOUIS ELEASAR. A History of the American School at Athens 1882-1942. 433 pages, ill., maps. Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1948 \$5.00.
- PARROT, ANDRÉ. Mari, une ville perdue et retrouvée par l'archéologie française. 256 pages. Je Sers, Paris 1948 250 fr.
- 7. EPIGRAPHY, NUMISMATICS, PAPYROLOGY**
- CAHN, HERBERT. Griechische Münzen archaischer Zeit. 32 pages, 19 plates. Amerbach-Verlag, Basel 1947 3.80 Swiss fr.
- CODICES IN FINIBUS BELGARUM ante annum 1550 conscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca universitatis asservantur. I: Codices 168-360 societatis cui nomen Maatschappij der Ned. letterkunde descripsit G. I. Lief-
- tinck. xxii+236 pages, ill. Brill, Leyden 1948 (Bibliotheca universitatis Leidensis Codices manuscripti, 5) 10 gldrs.
- GORDON, A. E. Supralineate Abbreviations in Latin Inscriptions. 74 pages. University of California Press, Berkeley 1948 (University of California publications in classical archaeology, vol. II, no. 3) \$1.50.
- MERLIN, A. L'année épigraphique. 88 pages. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1948 240 fr.
- PAAP, A. E. R. E. De Herodoti reliquiae in papyri et membranis Aegypti servatis. 100 pages. Brill, Leyden 1948 (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava edita institutum papyrologicum universitatis Lugduno-Batavae, 4) 20 gldrs.
- ROBERT L. Hellenica recueil d'épigraphie, Vols. IV, VI, VII, 153 pages, 8 plates; 133 pages, 14 plates; 131 pages, 26 plates. Maisonneuve, Paris 1948 1500 fr., 1300 fr., 1500 fr.
- TOD, MARCUS N. A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions. Vol. II, from 403 B.C. to 323 B.C. Oxford, London 1948 25s.
- WEGENER, E. P. De betekenis der grafologie voor de Griekse papyrologie. 32 pages. Brill, Leyden 1947 1.50 gldrs.
- 8. HISTORY OF ART**
- BEVEN, H. G. and W. VOLGRAFF. Argos et Sicylie. Études relatives à la sculpture grecque de style sévère. viii, 95 pages, 23 plates. The Hague 1947 8 gldrs.
- CHITTENDEN, JACQUELINE and CHARLES SELTMAN. Greek Art. 72 pages. Faber, London 1947 30s.
- DEMARGNE, PIERRE. La Crète dédalique. Études sur la origines d'une renaissance. 375 pages, 59 figs., 3 maps, 16 plates. Boccard, Paris 1947 500 fr.
- GROMORT, G. Histoire abrégée de l'architecture en Grèce et à Rome. 240 pages, 96 plates. Vincent, Fréal, Paris 1948 850 fr.
- HOURTICQ, LOUIS. Grèce. Hachette, Paris 1948 (Coll. Arts Una) 400 fr.
- LANGLOTZ, ERNST. Phidiasprobleme. 119 pages, 32 plates. Klostermann, Frankfort a. M. 1947 9.50 M.
- DU MÉANIL DU BUISSON. Le sautoir d'Atargatis et la chaîne d'amulettes. 26 pages, ill. Brill, Leyden 1947 (Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui, 1) 7.50 gldrs.
- PICARD, CHARLES. Manuel d'archéologie grecque. La sculpture, T. III: Periode classique. IV^e siècle. 89 pages, 379 figures, 12 plates. Picard, Paris 1948 2000 fr.
- PRINS DE JONG, E. F. Griekse grabeliefs. 58 pages, 4 pages of illustrations. Kroondier, Bussum 1948 4.50 gldrs.
- REV, RAYMOND. L'art roman et ses origines; Archéologie pré-romane et romane. 511 pages, 138 plates, 142 figs. Privat, Paris 1948 800 fr.
- SALMI, MARIO. L'architectura Romana in Toscana. 320 plates. The Hague 1947.
- WEIL, R. La Cité de David, T. II. 133 pages, 42 plates. Geuthner, Paris 1948 (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique) 2250 fr.

9. PATRISTIC STUDIES

Augustine. GILSON, ETIENNE. *Philosophie et incarnation selon saint Augustin.* 55 pages. Vrin, Paris 1948 250 fr.

10. FICTION

Anderson, Florence Mary Bennett. *The Black Sail.* 318 pages. Crown, New York 1948 \$3.00.
(Fictional Account of Theseus and the Minotaur)
Lawrence, Isabelle. *The Theft of the Golden Ring.* Illustrated by CHARLES V. JOHN. 309 pages. Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis 1948 2.50.
(Fiction for juveniles. About a roman matron.)

11. TEXTBOOKS

Auden, W. H. *The Portable Greek Reader.* 736 pages. Viking Press, New York 1948 \$2.00.
Howe, George and Gustave Harber. *Greek Literature in Translation.* Revised by PRESTON ERPS. 903 pages. Harper, New York 1948 \$5.00.
Mowll, R. J. *Latin Sentences: Graded Latin Sentences Designed to Illustrate Latin Syntax.* 80 pages. Pater-noster Press, London 1948 2s.
Smith, F. Kinchin and T. W. Melhuish. *Teach Yourself Greek.* 331 pages. Hodder & Sons, London 1947 4s. 6d.

12. MISCELLANEOUS AND UNCLASSIFIED

Brag, H. van den. *Anonymous de obsidione toleranda. Edito critica.* v+113 pages. Brill, Leyden 1947 (Dissertationes inaugurales Batavae ad res antiquas pertinentes, 4) 6 gldrs.
Chapouthier, Fernand. En Grèce. Ill. par 120 photogr. d'Antoine Bon. Paul Hartmann, Paris 1948 300 fr.
Farrington, Benjamin. Head and Hand in Ancient Greece. xii, 121 pages. Watts, London 1947 (Thinkers Library, no. 121) 2s. 6d.
Kent, John. Stories from Ancient Greece. 223 pages, ill. Lunn, London 1948 8s. 6d.
Marouzeau, G. and J. Ernst. L'année philologique T. XVII, 1945-1946. 485 pages. Belles Lettres, Paris 1948 1600 fr.
MEDDELINGEN EN VERHANDELINGEN van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch gezelschap "Ex oriente lux." Dl. 8. Hommage à la mémoire de l'éminent assyriologue F. Thureau-Dangin (1872-1944). Brill, Leiden 1947 3.50 gldrs.
MÉLANGES DE PHILOGIE, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes offerts à J. Marouzeau par ses collègues et ses élèves étrangers. 564 pages. Belles Lettres, Paris 1948 1200 fr.
Rutter, Joseph. *Masterworks of History: Digests of Eleven Great Classics.* (Herodotus, Thucydides, Caesar, Tacitus, Bede, etc.) 702 pages. Doubleday, New York 1948 \$5.00.
Wigram, A. *Hellenic Travel,* 266 pages, ill. Faber, London 1947 15s.

LATIN WEEK IN CHICAGO

A mimeographed set of twenty lessons on Greek art, architecture, literature, and history based on the average high school library of Greek and Latin books has been prepared by Mrs. Lilian R. Hadley, Steinmetz High School, 3030 N. Mobile Avenue, Chicago 34, Illinois, as a preparation for the Latin Week Celebration of 1949.

A similar set has been prepared on Roman art, architecture, literature, and history. In 1950, Dr. Watson will lecture on "The Contribution of Rome to the Modern World"; the Roman exhibits will be studied at the Museum of Natural History; and Mr. Schlesinger at the Planetarium will lecture on "The Roman Calendar."



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Because of the importance of the above message, this space has been contributed by

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

OHIO (*Continued from page 178*)

Pedagogical topics shared the floor with scholarly papers; and the Conference was especially pleased to hear papers of comparative newcomers to Ohio: John R. Grant, Western Reserve University, "Lucretius and the Fear of Death"; Robert O. Fink, Kenyon College, "Paper Work in the Roman Army"; Charles T. Murphy, Oberlin College, "Vergil as a Classic." At the banquet on Friday evening, Gordon M. Kirkwood, Cornell University, spoke of "Antigone as a Sophoclean Heroic Character."

The Conference will meet during the last weekend of October, 1949, in Canton, Ohio. Its new officers are: President, Frank R. Kramer, Heidelberg College; Vice-Presidents, Lotta B. Liebmann, Roosevelt Junior High, Cleveland Heights, and John B. Titchener, Ohio State University; Secretary-Treasurer, Paul R. Murphy, Ohio University; Chairman of County Representatives, Ruth W. Dunham, Mansfield High School.

NEW ENGLAND

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Connecticut Section of the Classical Association of New England was held at Fairfield University on Saturday, October 16. Professor Harry M. Hubbell of Yale University, President of the Connecticut Section, acted as Chairman.

Members were given an address of welcome by the Rev. James H. Dolan, S.J., Rector of Fairfield University; following this Professor LeRoy C. Barret, of Trinity College, read a paper entitled "Latin Becomes French." The Rev. Francis A. Sullivan, S.J., contributed a study of "Pre-Christian Virgil"; and this was followed by a discussion led by the Rev. William J. Power, S.J., under the title "Teachers' Exchange." Miss Anita Flanagan concluded the morning program with a report on the state Latin Contest.

Following luncheon, The Very Rev. William E. Fitzgerald, S.J., Rector of Cheverus High School, Portland, Maine, opened the afternoon program with an address on "Cicero's Perplexed Mind and Spiritual Thought"; and Professor C. Bradford Welles of Yale University concluded the session with a lecture on "The Romanization of the East."

GREATER BOSTON

THE CLASSICAL CLUB of Greater Boston held its annual fall meeting and dinner at the Women's Republican Club, 46 Beacon Street, Boston, on

Thursday, October 21, at six-thirty o'clock. The speaker after the dinner was Professor E. H. Wilkins, Visiting Lecturer on Italian Literature in Harvard University. The subject of his talk was "Wanderings and Returns." Professor Wilkins, with his training in the Classics and Italian Literature, in addition to his inimitable skill in recalling the places dear to the hearts of Classicists, gave those present a very delightful evening. Miss Elizabeth Bridge, President of the Club, presided and introduced the speaker. It was announced that Professor Charlotte Goodfellow of Wellesley College would conduct the Reading Groups for the year 1948-1949 in Terence and Professor F. Stuart Crawford of Boston University in Lucian's *True History*.

BROWN UNIVERSITY

AN INTERESTING social event is reported from Brown University where the Department of Classics held Open House for members of the Class of 1952 on Monday, September 20, from 7 to 9 P.M. Refreshments were served, and members of the department and the students were able to see and be seen and get acquainted. A gratifyingly large number of students attended, we are informed, and the results as reflected in enrollment in Classics courses appears to have justified the venture.

LATIN WEEK 1949 IN CHICAGO

BECAUSE OF THE EASTER season April 15-17, the Latin Week celebration in Chicago will be held on Saturday, April 23, the beginning of the spring vacation for the public schools in Chicago; however, this date will not affect the Catholic or private schools in Chicago nor the schools of the suburbs and surrounding territory.

Mr. Schlesinger at the Planetarium will lecture on "The Constellations and the Great Myths" at 9:00 A.M. and at 1:30 P.M.; Mrs. Winona Cosner at the Museum of Natural History will lecture on "Famous Volcanoes and Myths" at 10:30 in the small lecture hall and at 11:45 in the James Simpson Theatre; and Dr. Dudley Crafts Watson at the Art Institute will lecture on "The Contribution of Greece to the Modern World" at 9:00 A.M., 2:00 and 3:15 P.M. in Fullerton Hall. The large collection of Greek exhibits at the Art Institute will be viewed by the students. The Greek exhibits at the Museum of Science and Industry and the Greek art and architecture of the Elks' War Memorial Building will be viewed prior to Saturday, April 23, 1949.

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Diary of A Modern Latin Teacher

October 3, 1948

First Year Section

Called roll in Latin; Jimmy Gery absent. Explained order of cases. Played First Year Record #2-a, unison response, then individual questioning. Class wrote case-use-ending sequence. Most were perfect. Gave record to Jase to take home; slowest student. Replayed #1-b; fine response, individual and unison. No headaches on subject, direct object, predicate nouns any more. Read story in Latin for phrasing; asking questions in Latin on context. Used filmstrip vocabulary of first seven lessons for meanings and forms. Will use record tomorrow. Sent duplicate record to Jimmy Gery to master before return. Assigned composition exercise.

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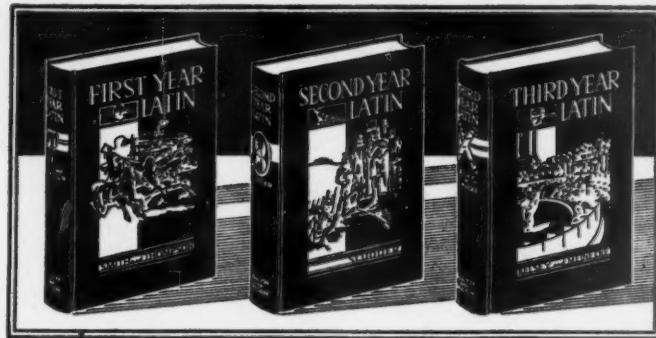
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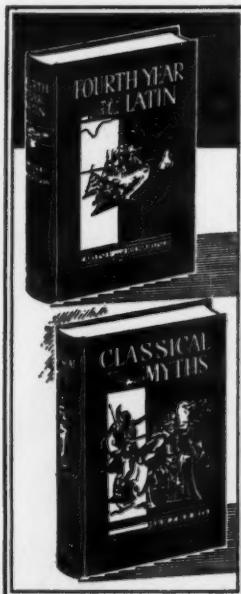
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